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Sir Philip Warwick's

MEMOIRES

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Written 167[illegible]

MEMOIRES

Of the reigne of

King CHARLES I.

WITH A

CONTINUATION

TO THE

Happy Reſtauration

OF

King CHARLES II.

BY

Sir Philip Warwick, Knight.

Publiſhed from the Original Manuſcript.
WITH
An Alphabetical Table.

LONDON,
Printed for Ri. Chiſwell, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's Church-yard*. 1701.

Burnet I-174
Ranke VI-84

TO THE READER.

THese Memoires were written by a Gentleman of great Integrity and Wisdom, who by means of his Stations and Employments under King Charles *the First, of Blessed Memory, and near attendance on His Person; had great opportunities of knowing the most considerable Occurrances of those Times, with the Secret Springs by which they mov'd: as also, the Characters of the Persons that were most concerned and active in them.*

And as the Vindicating of the Cause and Actions of His Royal Master and His Friends, and to do right to Truth, were the great inducements to his Writing these Remarks: So to rectifie mistakes, and rescue the Memory of that Injur'd Prince from the false Imputations and Indignities that have been cast upon Him by Prejudiced and Malicious Men, is the cause of this Publication.

To the Reader.

More is not needful to be ſaid, than to aſſure the World, that theſe Papers are Genuine, and publiſhed from the Authors Original Manuſcripts by a Faithful Friend with whom they were intruſted. Except I may have leave to add, That as the Author wrote with Freedom according to his Genius and his Principles, ſo 'tis hop'd he will be read with Candor and juſt Allowances by all Gentlemen of what Sentiments ſoever.

Misc. Hist. of Wit
Duchess of Sw.
B. M. Add. Mss. 34714

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Corrected

MEMOIRES,

OR

Reflexions upon the Reigne

OF KING

CHARLES I.

ON March the 25 1625 King James died, and his onely Son, Charles the first, was immediately proclaimed King; a Prince of a most excellent temper, and strength of understanding, and regularity of affections, having no transports unto any vice, but endowed with habits of knowledge and piety, and so unapt to have made any invasion upon the liberty or property of his Subjects, but as some early rude attaques of a popular faction seem'd to force him to defend his Soveraignity.

King Charles I. his accession to the throne.

The management of Government with regard to the severall Factions in the reigne of Queen Elisabeth, and

Where-ever the Prince is not jealous of underminers, and active to maintaine the establisht Government, there will never want Spirits given to change, who will attempt it, and make religion their shelter for rebellion. And thus even vigilant Queen Elisabeth was troubled with her *Gospellers*, upon pretense of a more refined purity. These men soon drew over to themselves or party many of the wealthy and trading Citizens generally in the Corporations, and from thence crept into the neighbouring countries, and infected many of the Yeomanry and Gentry: and not long after broacht principles, which serv'd to lessen soveraigne and civil authority, and a pulse was rais'd towards an Aristocratical government under a kingly title; which this wise Queen was soon alarum'd with, and oppos'd their Ecclesiastical encroachments with her new erected Court of High Commission. And she so asserted her prerogative in the House of Commons, that in the 35 year of her reign, as she stood in need of such a resolution, so she shew'd it, that she kept all in due temper, And when Dissenters, who had separated from *Rome*, grew as dangerous to the Government, as the Romanists, how remote soever they were one from another

other in opinion, ſhe involv'd them both under one title of *Recuſants:* and her Commoners made little impreſſion on her Soveraignity.

King James laboured under the ſame difficulties; but his watchfullnes (or uſe of the reins of Government) was not equall with hers. His Favourites were more countenanc't, than his States-men, and his States-men permitted his Favourite-Countrymen to make a harveſt in the Crown-revenue, where the Engliſh gleaners carried off almoſt as much corne, as the authoriz'd cart. This Prince's reign was peaceable and pleaſurable: his conference with the learned Proteſtant Diſſenters (according to the preſent new phraſe) ſhewed his great learning in overthrowing their arguments, and in gaining from them ſome promiſes (too ſoon forgot by them) of a better conformity; and his great wiſdom, in not onely approving, but maintaining both the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, made him appeare a great Divine. And he made as rational and truly politick ſpeeches of the nature of government, and of the good temper of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, as moſt tongues or pens could expreſſe: but to be ſhort, the practicall part was wanting: and in

of K. James.

the latter end of his reign, having a moſt ſtrong affection to marry his onely Son to the Infanta of Spain, which was croſſe-grain'd generally unto the inclination of the people of England, the Eccleſiaſtick and Civil moles caſt up ſo many looſe and black ſuſpicions, that he was thought no good Proteſtant, that did not think, that Proteſtantiſme was not like to be undermin'd. And this Prince having at this time a young Favourite, Sir George Villiers, of a noble family, and a Gentleman of a generous mind and great courage, and a moſt manly and comely perſon, whom he had rais'd unto the high title of Duke of Buckingham, and to whoſe conduct the Prince himſelfe in his journey into Spain was entruſted, there was great liberty of cenſure, and conſequently of diſſatisfaction; and the diſaffected had no apprehenſions of danger by their free talking: ſo as every man diſcours'd, as if they had been under no reſtraints of authority; and the ill-willers unto the eſtabliſht government multiplied their numbers, and fixt their roots dayly deeper. Yet the Prince being return'd out of Spain, where he had given great evidences, how well inſtructed and how firm he was in his owne religion, the Favourite both of King and Prince became

became a kind of Favourite unto the two Houſes of Parliament: and all perſons concurr'd in an ill-adviſed and popular-humor'd war with Spain.

The ſtate of the Court, upon King Charle's acceſſion to the Crown.

In this ill conjuncture this pacifick Prince, King James, departed this life; and the Favourite having a great aſcendant on his new Maſter, with this exceſſe of favour and fortune, and laden with plenty of Crown-revenue, and offices of the beſt value and of higheſt and moſt publick concerne; it is no marvell, that the auncient Nobility of both Kingdoms, who were at Court, as the Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and Marquis Hamilton, (who drew with them the Scotch partie) and the Earle of Pembroke, and his Brother Montgomery, Salisbury, and others, (who were followed by the Engliſh) brought a great diſtemper of humors in Court, and that diſtill'd it ſelfe ſoon into the veyns of the Country: and thus a diſpleaſure to the Favourite ſoon leſſen'd the duty and reverence, which was due to the Prince. Thus the Factions of a Court alwaies feed the peccant humors of the City and Country; ſo as commonly the Throne is moſt endanger'd by thoſe, whoſe obligation it is to uphold it, and who moſt commonly ſuffer with it.

With this ſowre humor in the ſtomack of the Nation, this moſt excellent Prince in himſelfe and in his own diſpoſition aſcended the throne; and now all men were grown great Divines and Statesmen, and the multitude were to judge, how a Prince, that by the Municipall laws was limited in ſome one part of his authority, (tho' no body could do the ſame thing without him, but had onely an intereſt to conſent with him and for him) could be reputed Soveraigne: and how a Church could be truly Apoſtolick, and yet at liberty to bind men to her rules of order and decency, which were not practis'd by the Apoſtles; which was very offenſive unto tender conſciences. Now they have in a great meaſure unpinn'd the firmnes of the Government, who can call in the *Many*, to determine diſputes of this nature. And thus wee ſee, how all became unhinged.

The King's marriage with the Lady Henrietta Maria, Sister of the French King.

Weighing anchor in this foule weathe, the King began his voyage. The firſt thing he did was to call a Parliament, which he appointed to meet the 18 of June following, 1625. Before that could meet, he ſent away the Duke of Buckingham, the Earle of Carliſle, and the Earle of Holland unto the French Court, as his Ambaſſadours, and by his proxie,

proxie, which was given to the Duke of Chevereux, his eſpouſals were celebrated by Cardinal Richelieu with the Siſter of the King of France, the Lady Henrietta Maria; a Lady of an excellent aire and beauty of countenance and livelines of mind; who was ſoon brought over by his Ambaſſadours, and for whom ſtaying ſome little time at Canterbury, and ſhe landing at Dover, they met on thoſe downes, which from Canterbury are a good part of the way. His Majeſtie ſoon brought her up to London, where the plague extreamly raging, the glory and joy of the Court was leſſened; nevertheleſs it was very ſplendid.

The troubles and uncomfortablenes almoſt of his whole reigne wee may divide into theſe ſtages. The diviſion of his reigne into ſeverall parts.

1. What befell him during the ſhort time of life, after this, of the Duke of Buckingham, or in his three Parliaments: the firſt whereof began in 1625, and the laſt ended in March 1628.

2. What difficulties he ſtruggled with to ſupport the government from this year 1628, unto the year 1637: when the Scots began their firſt commotions, which improved it ſelfe ſoon into a downright rebellion: and in all this time in how firme a poſture and eſteeme the

King's affaires ſtood among the neighbouring Princes: and in how peaceable and plentifull a condition the Subject was at home.

3. What brought on the two Parliaments, both begun in the year 1640; one in Aprill, the other in November following.

4. The irreconcileable and never to be ſatisfied appetite unto a change in government in the long Parliament, (as they us'd to call it) begun in November 1640.

5. Of the war begun 1642, and the ſucceſſes of it betwixt that and 1648; when this good Prince was moſt barbarouſly and traiterouſly murdered by his owne Subjects.

6. Of the diſaſters, which befell his diſloyall Lords and Commons by the defection againſt them of their owne Army: of their erecting their Idol, Cromwell, as the Protector of England, and of his proſperity againſt rebellious England and Ireland: of the traverſes he mett with from his owne Army, and of his diſcompoſed death, and laying aſide his Son and Succeſſor in his Protectorſhip, Richard, and the tame and heartleſſe being laid aſide of his Son Henry in Ireland: and of the various

and

and confuſed changes in the Army, till blaſted by God, all the Uſurpations ended in the happy reſtitution of our preſent gracious King Charles the II.

Obſervations ariſing from the ſeverall facts and events of his reigne.

The obſervations, that ſhall be made on the ſeverall reflexions, that ſhall be here put downe, are theſe:

How little the beſt Princes can think themſelves ſecure, if ſome leading men in their own Courts fall into faction, and infect thoſe out of their verge, and ſpread jealouſies, and nouriſh diſtaſts, and ſtop it not, till it poyſon the Populacy or Multitude.

How apt a people are to be led blindfold by the Repreſentatives, which they chooſe themſelves, rather than to be guided by their Prince, whom the Law, as well as ſound reaſon, declares their true Repreſentative.

How dangerous a few ſubtil heads are to an eſtabliſhed government, when they are back'd by the many hands of a Multitude.

How inſecure thoſe prime deſigning heads are, when the numerous hands find, that they have miſimploy'd them.

How fatall the ſeverall changes were to every ſect of Innovators.

The degenerous Nobility being degenerated, and made uſeleſſe by the Commons,

to

to whom they had been as ſervile, as they were haughty towards their Prince.

The Commons as much lorded over by their owne Army, as they had lorded it over the Lords.

The Army as refractory to their Leaders, as their Leaders had bin to thoſe, who gave them their commiſſion.

The two confederating Kingdoms of England and Scotland ſo little obſerving their ſtrict Covenant and tye, that the one became a prey, or was reduced into a Province unto the other; and the third, as miſerably treated, as they had butcherly and barbarouſly ſurprized and treated thoſe of the Engliſh.

The Epiſcopal Clergy ſaw the law of retaliation exerciſed on the Presbyterian by the Phanatick, and the Presbyterian ſaw the Phanatick brought into as great a diſtraction by themſelves, as they had brought on all the reſt.

Here wee ſhall find a gracious and a ſerious Prince by diverſity of counſels drawn off from his owne judgement; one while making unhappy denials, and at another more unhappy condeſcenſions. But Providence at laſt ſo own'd his cauſe, and time ſo vindicated his honor, that never Prince was more truly lamented, nor his Poſterity

by

by divine bleſſing more wonderfully re-eſtabliſh'd.

The 18 of June being come, the Parliament met, Sir Thomas Crew being choſen Speaker; after the King had made a gracious Speech, (to do them right) they frankly gave him two Subſidies of the Layety, voting the Papiſts to pay double; and the Clergy gave him three Subſidies for themſelves. But a little leaven was in the lump; for the Commons preſented him the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage but for a Year, which had formerly (moſt uſually) bin given for the life of the Prince; (eſpecially from Henry the VII his time.) And the reaſon I conceive of this caution or limitation was, becauſe that King James, beſides the Cuſtoms, which were rated but low, yet ever generally rated by the King, had raiſed ſome new Impoſitions on ſeverall imported and exported commodities; which Prerogative was eſteemed a juſt and neceſſary flower of the Crowne; becauſe the rate upon merchandize cannot well be ſteddily ſet, in regard forraign Princes can impoſe in their Countries what rate they pleaſe, upon our imported commodities among them; and therefore in all Nations ſuch rates on forraign commodities from time to time are varied by

His firſt Parliament.

The Bill of Tonnage and Poundage.

by every Prince, that they may be ballanced and hold proportion unto forraign duties on their owne commodities: and Queen Eliſabeth had done the ſame on Currants, *&c.* The Lords not ſatisfied with the limitations of this Bill, paſſed it not; probably foreſeeing, that the King was not like to aſſent thereunto.

Adjourned to Oxford.

The Plague made it neceſſary to adjourn this Parliament, and they were to meet at Oxford the firſt of Auguſt following, where inauſpiciouſly they did; for by this time Buckingham's greatnes was perceived, and highly envied at Court, as well as in the Country; and he, who not long before had been a Favourite of a Parliament for breaking the Spaniſh match, is now the mark they ſhoot their diſpleaſure at. And at Oxford the Parliament is eager in the laying open of grievances; and principally in laying the cauſe or occaſion of them on Buckingham; of which the King being impatient, ſince (unleſſe they had bin prediſpoſed too too much to make miſrepreſentations) the few months of his reigne could not be obnoxious to ſuch a charge; and likewiſe being angry to be ill charactered to his People, he reſolved to put an end to this ſitting: and ſending down the Black-Rod

to

to call up the Commons unto the Lords-houſe, in order to their diſſolution, they being then reſolved into a grand Committe, and having ſome inkling of what was determined, when the Black-Rod knockt at the door with his ſtaff, (which is the uſual manner and voice of authority to be preſently admitted) the men of the Tribunitiall ſpirit (for God be thanked, wee have no ſuch Officers among us, tho' wee have Orators) would not let the Speaker, Sir Thomas Crew, take the Chair to admit the King's Meſſenger, untill one Mr. Glanvill, an eminent Lawyer, and of a warm temper, had framed a Proteſtation, that his Majeſtie might have thanks for his gracious anſwer to their Petition for Religion; and for his care of their healths, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous Sicknes-time; profeſſing their loyalty and their readines to ſupply his Majeſtie in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time; which was a wild and tumultuous eſſay, to be made at a Committee, which had no authority to treat of any ſuch thing. Beſides, whenever the King ſends his Black-Rod, the Houſe (much more a Committee) is immediately to break off their diſcourſe, tho' they be in the midle of it: ſo as this action

expreſt

expreſt much fervor, but no prudence; and therefore going up to attend the King's Commiſſion in this heat and diſorder, it ſerved onely to juſtify his Majeſtie's reſolution of diſſolving them, which was done on the 12 of Auguſt, 1625, as ſoon as they come up to the Houſe of Lords. So abruptly and tumultuouſly ended this firſt Parliament. This on all hands turn'd much to the diſreputation of the Nation abroad; for Forraigners ſaw, how little the King could do without his Parliament, and how little the Parliament was like to do for him; and therefore Spain and the Emperor perceived little danger in that diſpoſal, which they had made, of the Palſgrave, the King's brother in law, his Countries; and France and Holland knew, if the King would purſue a Spaniſh war, he muſt truckle under them.

Diſſolved.

The Duke of Buckingham's greatneſs.

The Duke of Buckingham's greatnes in King Jame's time hath been deſcrib'd in that King's Reign, whereof ſome Memoires have been made; and how by breaking of the match with Spain, and bringing the Prince, now King, home ſafe, he became a Favourite in Parliament: but he managing his glory to the eclips of the other great men, it was ill brookt, that he ſhould be found Favourite both to Father

Father and Son. His want of experience, as having never ſeen the reverſe of fortune, made him too great an Enterpriſer to ſucceed in what he unadviſedly undertook; for beſides moulding this Court to the advantage principally of his own Family, the females whereof he numerouſly diſperſt into the nobleſt families of the Nobility, thinking thereby to ſtrengthen himſelfe, inſtead of judiciouſly mollifying the miſunderſtandings betwixt the two Houſes and the King, he unadviſedly (for in Spain he had received perſonal affronts upon ſome amours he had made) runs the King into a war with that Nation; which tho' begun in the laſt King's time, he knew the preſent King's treaſure could not diſcharge; and thereupon a conſiderable Navy with good ſtore of Land-forces are employed in a deſigne to ſurprize Cadiz; (at leaſt to burn the ſhips in that harbor) and if poſſibly they could, to meet with the Spaniſh Plate-fleet; but tho' there was good courage ſhewed, there was not good conduct; ſo they fail'd of the former, and met not with the latter; and upon the return, the Generalls laid the blame one on the other: ſo inauſpicious was the firſt war, as well as firſt Parliament.

The expedition againſt Cadiz.

And

And now, to pay the ſhips and men off, the Duke's Confidents and Counſellors had propos'd an attempt, which uſually breeds more diſcontent, than yields fruit, of ſending to rich men letters of Privy-ſeal for a Loan. But this courſe was very impolitick; for a neceſſity there was of calling a new Parliament; and it was ſummon'd to meet the February following, 1625.

A Loan.

The ſecond Parliament.

The factions at Court, and in the two Houſes of Parliament.

Here it was ſoon perceived, how numerous and conſiderable the Ill-willers to Buckingham's greatnes were at Court; ſo as the popular Lords in the Upper-Houſe, ſuch as have bin named before, together with Eſſex, Say, Sheffield, now Mulgrave, *&c.* and the great Orators in the Houſe of Commons, ſuch as Diggs, Sandys, Hollis, Selden, and Elliot, drawing their reflexive heat from the other great luminaries, made this Seſſion more unfortunate, than the former Parliament. And to ſhew with what metal their arrows were headed, and what bellows blew this fire, an inconſiderate, as well as inconſiderable, Court-Dependent, and one familiar with and uſually divertizing the Court-Lords, (Dr. Turner a Phyſician) brought into the Parliament querees (a new-faſhion charge) againſt the Duke of Buckingham: and we have lived

lived to see that species of charging men much improv'd; for it hath bin admitted in the House of Commons for a Member to say, *I will charge such a great man, being of the King's Councel, for having divulged the King's Councel*, or, *I will produce one, that will charge him therewith*; but when in that case it was reply'd, *all Junto-Councellors must with Forraign Ministers divulge Princes councels, or else there could be no accommodation or peace in times or points of difference*; and that, that word *divulge*, would bear no legall charge, unless *betray* were added to it, in a heat that Article pass'd; tho' the person, who brought in the article first, did not at the last reading confirm it with the additional word *betray*. Querees therefore are rather to be expounded, as trayling for a hare, not having found her; than pursuing her, having found her. But the Querees were these:

Dr. Turner's queeres.

I. *Whether the King had not lost the regality of the seas during Buckingham's being Admiral.*

II. *Whether the late ill successes of the Fleet had not happened by the Admirall's having not personally executed his place.*

III. *Whether the Duke had not engroſſed all great Offices into his diſpoſall, and preferred thereto his owne unfit kindred.*

IV. *Whether he had not ſold places of Judicature*, &c.

V. *Whether his Mother was not Patroneſſe of the Popiſh Party.*

VI. *Whether immenſe liberality had not waſted the King's treaſure.*

Theſe were ſo exaggerated, that a ſulphurious vapour flew from an unadviſed mouth of Mr. Clement Cook, who invectively ſaid, *'Twas better to dye by a Forraigne Enemy, than to be deſtroyed at home.* The wetteſt and greeneſt wood would have taken fire at theſe flames; and ſo the King complains to the Houſes both of Turner and Cook, and receives civill, but unſatisfactory, anſwers.

Mr. Cook's ſcandalous invective.

And to pour new oyle into this flame, the Earle of Briſtoll, the late Ambaſſador in Spain, purſues Buckingham, and they both charge one another with Treaſon. The King's Councell at Law would have purſu'd Briſtoll by indictment: but the Lords-Houſe favouring him, and poſſeſt of his Articles, would not let it be carried unto the

Earle of Briſtoll.

the common-Law, untill they had heard ſo much of it, as they might judge it fit to be remitted thither. And the Commons thought it fit for them likewiſe to accuſe the Duke of Buckingham by XIII Articles; but he made ſuch a calme and ſubmiſſive Reply, ſhewing that, what they principally charged him with, was done in the laſt King's time, and that the generall pardon ſince had acquitted him thereof, (ſaying, he laid hold of it) that in ſome meaſure it ſweetned them for the preſent towards him. In this Parliament they reſolv'd to give the King by Bill three Subſidies; but withall determined, not to proceed therein, (tho' the Forraign engagements would admit no delays) but as the impeachment intended againſt the Duke and other grievances were to accompany it; and therefore the King diſſatisfied, reſolv'd to diſſolve them: which was done the 15 of June 1626.

Second Parliament diſſolved.

And now, affairs being thus in diſorder, and perſons in paſſion, it cannot be expected, that Counſels ſhould be very ſound, or well weighed; neceſſities corrupting the judgement, and dangers making men lay hold of that to ſuſtaine them, which is either too weak to do it, or too thorny for them long to

The three Subſidies endeavoured by way of Loan to be levied.

graſpe; and accordingly an advice was taken to raiſe a Summe by way of loan, equal unto three Subſidies, which that Parliament had voted, and agreed on, but not carried up the Act; and for this reſolution there was a very equitable pretence, ſince his Majeſtie was then in action, and engaged in a warr, adviſed by a Parliament, and for ſupport of the continuing charge thereof, had anticipated his owne revenue very deeply. In ſuch conjunctures, where there are ſeeming reaſons on both ſides, each ſide gaines ſome Party to owne him; but in ſuch diſputes the higheſt authority hath moſt commonly the worſt end of the ſtaff; for few can diſcern the juſt provocations given to a Prince, or his ill uſage; but all can reſolve this, that their liberty of not being taxed, without their Repreſentatives conſent, is due unto them, and their keeping their money in their purſe (tho' it endanger all the reſt) is an advantageous thing. Hence all were divided, or unto ſome this courſe ſeem'd reaſonable, unto others infirm and ſpecious. Many therefore cheerfully lent; others, and thoſe eminent Parliament-Men, refuſed, and had recourſe to the Law for their defence, and being reſtrained, ſued out their Habeas-corpuſſes, and

and yet were remanded back, which miniſtred occaſion of great complaints in the next Parliament.

Within this time, as if fate had hurried us on unto ſomewhat, which was to be diſmal; and our crafty neighbours, France and Holland, being both now in a warr with Spain, as well as England was; France, pretending a great deſigne of ſeizing the paſſages in the Valteline, to intercept the Spaniard's intercourſe between Italy and Germany, (by which way the Emperor had ſtill new forces from the Spaniard) propos'd unto the Hollander to joyn with them, in making up a good Fleet to inveſt and ſtraiten Genoa, the place, which Spain made its great bank of money and credit. And tho' they knew, England in her diſputing ſtate was able to do little; yet craftily upon very moderate terms they invited her into this confederacy; ſo as the King of England, for countenance ſake, was only to lend one ſhip of his own Royall Navy, and to furniſh and equipp ſix Merchant Men, which afterwards ſhould be wholly in the French pay. But the deep-ſighted Stateſ-man, Cardinal Richelieu, made a clean other uſe of this aſſiſtance; for the French Proteſtants being at this time hardly dealt with, and many of

The French deceive both Holland and England.

their conceſſions and priviledges aunciently granted to them, in relation unto the exerciſe of their religion, according unto the Calviniſtical Reformation, being denyed them, they too apt to be diſcontented, and too forward to ſet up themſelves, as an independant body (in point of Religion at leaſt) in that State, and the Duke of Rohan, a very learned and wiſe Stateſ-man, and a great Captain, with his brother Soubize, a Gentleman of great, tho' inferior, parts, being with others Heads of this Party, Soubize at this time flew out, and being backt by that ſtrong town Rochel, having got a ſmall Navall-force, he made havock not only of the iſles of Rhe and Oleron, (ſtrong and important places, and of great concern unto the French-Crown, and its revenue, as full of Salt-pitts; Salt being monopolized in that Kings hand, and one of the faireſt flowers of that Crown's revenue) but likewiſe ſeized on ſeverall of his own King's ſhips, lying in thoſe parts in harbor: (a ſufficient evidence, that the French Navy was not at that time very conſiderable.) It ſtood in need therefore of ſuch a maſter-ſtroak, as this of the Cardinalls, who diverted (perchance that, which was never deſigned) the French, Holland, and Engliſh ſhips, given out for Genoa, and

The warr in France, between that King and his diſcontented Hugonot-ſubjects.

and immediately employ'd them againſt Soubize; ſo as this Fleet by ſea, and the Duke of Guiſe by land, ſoon cruſh'd all Soubize's ſucceſſes, and Rochell, the chiefeſt ſtrength and aſylum of the oppreſſed or diſcontented Hugonots was blockt up.

How King Charles came to bee concerned in it.

Our King, impatient of the miſemploying his ſhipping againſt thoſe of the Religion in France, and we alledging, that the French King had admitted the Engliſh as a Guaranty for preſerving the auncient Liberties of thoſe of the Religion, and Buckingham himſelfe being at that time highly diſobliged by Richelieu, who had excepted to his coming over Ambaſſador, upon ſome jealouſy in that Court of an amour of an high nature, wee ran into a new and precipitate warr; and ſo were engaged againſt the two great Monarchs, even at that time, when our own Monarchical Government ſeem'd to be in diſpute at home.

The third Parliament.

This made it high time for the King to think of calling a new Parliament; and it was ſummon'd to meet on the 17 of March 1627, where Sir John Finch was choſen Speaker.

But here the Houſe of Commons trod in their former ſteps, and where they left off, they ſeem'd to begin, and to make their proceedings the more ſolemn, (for

by this time the Nonconforming-Clergie were to be the trumpets of a diſſatisfied Layety) the firſt thing they pray, is, that they might hold a Faſt; and what ſpirit this would beget thro' the whole Nation, he, that then durſt have conjectur'd, would have bin thought to have bin of an ill ſpirit, unles others had liv'd to have felt the ill effects of it, in the long Parliament in 1640. For, as nothing is more probable to avert God's judgements, than true humiliation and piety; ſo nothing is more diſpleaſing to God, or breeds worſe tempers in men, than when they faſt for ſtrife, or in order to cry up a Party.

The expedition againſt the Iſle of Rhe.

But, before wee enter upon their actions, wee ſhall give ſome account of his Majeſtie's great preparations and falling upon that great action of invading the Iſle of Rhe, which the Duke of Buckingham, high Admirall, with ten ſhips Royall, and ninety Merchant-men, with a body of 6000 horſe and foot ſet ſaile for, in the month of June: and tho' Rhe was not his firſt deſign, yet here he fixes, and having bin long expected in thoſe parts, Monſieur Toyras, Governor of that Iſle, an old and well-experienc'd Soldier, had in readines ſuch a force, as probably would have made the Engliſh deſcent very hazardous

hazardous and dangerous. But the Duke, a Gentleman of a cleer courage, and his intrepid Soldiers (which epithet their unfortunate retrait, as well as glorious descent, made good) forced their way, and acted all things suitable to the honour of their Nation.

And thus being lauded, they drive Mr. Toyras and his men from the shoare up into the land into St. Martin's Castle, the chiefe strength of that Island. But here was a great error committed, and a wilfull, as it was said, on the Generalls part; for contrary to the advice of his Commanders, he took not in a lesser Castle upon the coast; which would have secur'd his own retrait, and the landing of any of his provisions, and hindered the French from bringing in fresh supplies, either of men or provision. Besides, the pursuit after Toyras was not made so quick, but that two or three daies being lost, that old Souldier made his fortifications much more difficult to be taken in; one would think, that these neglects ought to be attributed more to the old English Commanders, Sr. John Burroughs, Sr. William Courtney, and the rest, than unto the unexperienc't Generall, who surely, had they bin as resolute as they ought, he would not have been so obstinate

Ill conduct in the management of it.

ſtinate as he was, to prefer his own bent before their experience.

The policy of Toyras, the French Governour.

But thus it was, and one error ſucceeds another; for Toyras, a crafty Fox, manages his part towards the Duke courtlily, as well as ſoldierly, for after ſome time, that the Engliſh had preſt him cloſe, repelled his ſally's, which were made and entertained with equall courage, and reduced him to great neceſſity, he craftily began a Treaty about ſurrender, and ſpun out ſome time with the opennes and deceits of Courtſhip; which pleaſing the Duke's humor, loſt him ſome advantages, but gain'd Toyras his point; for he ſtay'd but to ſee the ſucceſs of an intended relief to be ſent him of ſome proviſions and ſome men, which not long after, by ſome experienced Pilots, who well knew the depths, and ſhelves, and creeks of that ſhoare, was effected; and then the Duke found the burthen of his firſt omiſſion in not taking in the leſſer Fort, and the ruinous ſtate he ſhould leave Rochel in, from whence he had borrowed much of their proviſions, and from which Garriſon he was ſupply'd with at leaſt 500 men, neither of which he could repay; the Earl of Holland not coming with thoſe ſupplyes from England which were promiſed; ſo as the

The Duke of Buckingham's forced retrait.

Duke

Duke finding a neceſſity of his retrait, made it with great courage, but with great loſſe, and as I have underſtood by men of good knowledge in that affaire, not without ſome ill conduct in his retrait, as well as in his firſt advances.

How managed.

For being to retrait upon narrow cawſes, by reaſon of the ſalt-pans and low-grounds, he brought off his men under the protection of horſe, who had no room to fight, and who once routed, muſt neceſſarily rout their own foot, which happen'd accordingly, and made the ſlaughter great, which otherwiſe, probably would have been little, and ſo the retrait creditable, tho' not glorious.

Cenſure of ſeveral employed in this Expedition.

In this very action, three Perſons, who loſt much of their honour, were employ'd, who all liv'd to make improſperous his Majeſties laſt condition, as they had made inglorious his firſt enterprize: for here in England the Earle of Holland trifled away the time, in which he ſhould have brought new ſupplies of men, victualls, and ſhipping unto the Duke, and was found in harbor at Plymouth, when he ſhould have bin found a month before in the bay at Rochel; and here his Brother Montjoy, afterward Earle of Newport, and the Lord Con-

(Conway, (then Sr. Edward) who with the horſe were to make the retrait, (to ſay no more) fell under great ſuſpicion. And what they did in the laſt actions of his Majeſties life, the following ſheets will ſhew; and they will ſhew alſo, how improvident it is to make uſe of trifling men, tho' in good ſtation, twice in one Prince's reign; for tho' in the hazards of war ill ſucceſs may attend the moſt loyal and experienced men, and their conduct of their extremity may make them the fitter to be re-employ'd; yet where ſuch an eminency is not, there a State is much wanting to it ſelf, which a ſecond time own's ſuch perſons. But Holland's being great on the Queen's ſide, it ſecur'd his Brother Montjoy's infirmities, (we may ſay, his after-infidelities,) and whether wee may give a ſofter word unto the Lord Conway's laſt engagement in the Scotch war, I will not determine: tho' I am ſure, I am willing to do it, as having had ſome relation in blood, and ſome perſonal obligation unto his Father, whilſt Secretary of State. But his re-admiſſion was, by being a confident of the Earle of Northumberland's. So dangerous a thing it is to Princes, to have the leaſt hand in the choice even of the ſubordinate Miniſters in civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical affairs.

But

But affaires being thus improſperous, it is no marvell, that a Houſe of Commons, a popular Councill, or a Houſe of Lords, moſt commonly invidious towards Favourites, lookt upon all theſe things (as well they might) with an ill eye, and rather ſharpened their own ſpirits, than ſweetn'd their Princes, by private condolements, and endeavors to withdraw him from making uſe, upon affection, of improper Inſtruments to his deſigns. Hence it was too too probable, that the Houſe of Commons upon their firſt meeting caſt their eye more upon their grievances, than the joyning their Councells towards the promoting the King's Forraign engagements; and ſo they complaine of billetting ſouldiers, of Loans by benevolences, and upon privy ſeals, and of impriſoning Refuſers; and being demanded ſupplies upon the King's occaſions, they ſay, that by the former proceedings with them, they were uncertain, whether they had any thing of their own to give. Thus eaſie it is thro' a multiplying-glaſs to make ſmall things great, or by following a climax, to make the loſſe of the naile of the Generalls horſe-ſhooe the looſing his horſe, and conſequently himſelf, and conſequently the battel, and conſequently

Diſcontents in Parliament.

ly the Nation; for their expreſſions were, *That now like the Roman ſlaves, this was the annuall day, wherein they had liberty to utter, what all the year before they had ſuffered.* But Rhetorick is no vulnerary herb. The King with a milder temper receives their complaints; and profeſſes, that he had neither averſenes nor intention to keep himſelf at diſtance with them; and that he deſired nothing more, but that their buſines and his might go on hand in hand.

The Petition of Right. Upon which they brought in their Petition of Right, and they voted to have a bill brought in for five Subſidies, which the King gave hearty thanks for: the Petition was proceeded on, but not the Subſidies; and it was prefac'd in theſe words following.

We humbly preſent this Petition to your Majeſtie not onely with a care for preſervation of our liberties, but with a due regard to leave entire that ſoveraign power, wherewith your Majeſtie is truſted for the protection, ſafety, and happines of your People. The King at firſt thought a generall anſwer might have ſatisfied, and ſo gave this following:

The King's gracious anſwer at firſt, and afterwards *That he will'd, that right be don according to the Laws and Cuſtom of the Realm, and that the ſtatutes be put in due execution, that*

that the ſubjects may have no cauſe to complain of any wrong or oppreſſions contrary to their juſt rights, and liberties: to the preſervation whereof he holds himſelf in conſcience as well oblig'd, as to the maintenance of his Prerogative. But this being not ſatisfactory, and debates growing upon it, the King to quiet all, told them, that he would give them an anſwer, that ſhould fully pleaſe them; and ſo coming to the Houſe of Lords, he cauſes the Clerk in his preſence to read that moſt comprehenſive anſwer, *Soit droit fait, comme il eſt deſirè.* And after this, his Majeſtie aſſur'd them, that his Maxime was, that *the Peoples liberties ſerv'd to ſtrengthen the Kings Prerogative, and the Kings prerogative to defend the Peoples Liberties*; *and now*, ſay's he, *if this Parliament have not an happy concluſion, the ſin is yours, and I am free from it.* But notwithſtanding all this, a noble Gentleman, an eminent Parliament man, who pay'd dear for it in 1640. being then a great Royaliſt, ſaid, *let us perfect our Remonſtrance*; *for King James was wont to ſay, he knew that by Parliament, which otherwiſe he could never have known:* and in the Remonſtrance they had declared the Duke the foundation of all their grievances; and this following ſuch a graci-

Fuller com. deſcenſion.

ous

ous conceſſion, as his Majeſty had made in his anſwer to the Petition of Right, and his Majeſty likewiſe finding, that they were turning his own weapon upon his own breaſt, for they pretended, that his anſwer to their Petition of Right, (tho' there was not the leaſt mention of it thro' the whole debate in either Houſe,) had excluded him from the receipt of his Cuſtomes, which irritated him very much. Had they at the ſame time freely preſented him with a Bill for the receipt thereof, becauſe taken away, this might have expreſs'd, that they meant no ſurprizall; but the other way of proceeding ſeem'd to him ſo diſingenuous, that he would not brook it.

Diſcontents raiſed and fomented in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Duke.

Nor indeed could they be brought to brook the Duke, whom they knew formerly had employ'd Sr. William Balfoure a Scotch Commander, and Colonell Dolbeir, a German, to raiſe in forreign parts 1000 horſe for this King's ſervice, and to tranſport them into England. This like the Iſraelites worſhipping the golden Calf, may too probably have bin an ingredient in all future diſtruſts.

The Navy again equipped to relieve Rochell.

However, the Duke upon his return from Rhe, proceeds in equipping out a new conſiderable Navy, with conſiderable land-forces to relieve Rochel; which that

that Univerſal man Richelieu, (for he was Clergy-man, States-man, Souldier, and what not, in perfection?) had then inveſted with ſtrong land-forces.

By this time he was drawn down in perſon into thoſe parts, and like Nebuchadnezzar, or Alexander the great againſt Tyre, had reſolved to attempt, what to others ſeem'd impoſſible, *viz.* to make ſuch a wall or dyke croſſe the arme of the ſea, which came up to Rochell, as might hinder the Engliſh navy's entrance; and wanting neither great Engineers, nor multitude of hands, nor ready experienc'd workmen, nor plenty of money; he effected that by his preſence, which without it would never have bin done. Then beſieged.

But here wee muſt ſtopp the thred of our diſcourſe, and relate what influence the *Parliaments* intended Remonſtrance had on the ſpirit of a diſcontented and hypochondriack Lieutenant, (who miſs'd of being a Captain, as he thought, in his turn) who ſhortly after aſſaſſinated the Duke at Portſmouth, whilſt he was in the heat and highth of his preparation for Rochell, and when he was even ready to ſett ſail from thence; where this malevolent ſaturnical man, named Felton, with a broad knife in a narrow paſſage, The Duke killed at Portſmouth by Felton.

gave him that mortal wound, which cutt the vena cava; ſo as he was immediately choak'd with his own blood, and he ſtabb'd him over the ſhoulder of a Gentleman, who was humbly ſtooping to ſalute the Duke, and the Duke was bending his owne body in return of the others obſervance, and the crowd was ſo great, that had not the perſon's owne guilt, after ſome time and at ſome diſtance, diſcovered himſelf he might probably have eſcap'd; and there being many French nigh the Duke's perſon, the noiſe at firſt ran againſt them to their great danger; but the Aſſaſſin being ſoon after taken, confeſt the fact, and profeſt, that he was led thereunto by the ill characters, which the Parliaments Declaration had put upon that great man.

The King's reſentment of this villanous aſſaſſination.

The news came ſoon to Court, and the King underſtood it, whilſt he was at his morning publick devotion, and there he gave an evidence of his compos'd mind; for he expreſt no paſſion, till the ſervice was ended, and then he retired, and was very ſenſible of it. The Court was nigh Portſmouth, ſo as meſſenger came after meſſenger: and I heard divers of them relate the various circumſtances of this foule fact; and thoſe, that came lateſt, agreed in this, that ſo diſtracted were the thoughts of moſt men there,

there, that they, that a little before crowded to be of his remoteſt followers, ſo ſoon forſook his dead corps, that he was laid upon the hall-table, nigh to which he fell; and ſcarce any of his Domeſticks left to attend him. Thus upon the withdrawing of the ſun does the ſhadow depart from the painted dyall.

The deep ſighted great Cardinal ſtood ſum all this while at the mark, and ſhewed, it was not enough to be wiſe in projecting, but to be induſtrious in effecting what was deſign'd; ſo as when the Earle of Lindſey (who was commiſſioned to command that Navy and forces, which the Duke had in readines to ſet ſail with) came to the place, he found the digue ſo advanced, that tho' he made ſome noble attempts, yet the paſſage was ſo barricadoed, that he was forc'd to return home, and leave poor Rochell, who had endured the greateſt extremities, as a trophy unto this great man's wiſdom and good fortune: and the Garriſon marched forth tyred and famiſh'd, rather as Ghoſts, than living men. And from this epoche or point of time, France may reckon her entire, tho' encreaſing, greatneſs; all other European Princes having ſince declin'd and wain'd. For tho' a long time after, this part of the world, prepoſſeſt

The ſeeds of France's greatneſs layd

In the ſurrender of Rochell, and

with that opinion, ſeem'd to apprehend the aſpiring greatnes of Spain; yet that Monarchy hath from Philip the ſecond declin'd, and really ſeems now to be very inſignificant in the world, but as ſhe is the Miſtriſs of the Indian mines; and of late years her forces have bin ſo feeble, and ſo improſperous, that both at home, in Portugal, and Catalonia, and her ſeverall territories in Italy, and in our neighbouring countries in Flanders, ſhe hath not of late done any conſiderable action; but ſeems like a goodly tree, that is ſtill ſtanding, but hath loſt its vegetative virtue; ſo as when it comes to be cutt out into timber, 'tis brittle and of no toughneſs againſt ſhott, whilſt France hath every year eaten into it by its own united power, and turned both their metals againſt themſelves, conquering them as well by the Spaniſh gold, as iron; as Portugal, Catalonia, Flanders, and Sicily ſufficiently evidence.

By the increaſe of their ſhipping.

And from this juncture France affected, and hath to wonder brought about the making her ſelf Miſtriſs of the moſt conſiderable Navy at this time in Chriſtendom, and ere long will of Mariners too, eſpecially had they held Sicily, as they do now a good part of Flanders. And however at firſt we and others deſpiſed her Sea-

Seamen, and thought, that ſhe would never be able to man or manage thoſe ſhips, ſhe had built; yet the laſt ſummer ſhew'd, ſhe was able to defend all her ports againſt the power of Holland, and this ſummer with her own ſhipping and Captains, (for common-ſtranger-Mariners will be on board every Navy, where the pay is good) ſhe hath bin able to beat both the Spaniſh Navy, and that conſiderable ſquadron of Holland ſhips, which (under the beſt Sea-Captain perchance in the world, who was ſlaine in the ſervice, De Ruyter) was ſent to aſſiſt them in Sicily. 1667.

The methods of the French politicks and

But this, tho' it may ſeem too great a digreſſion, is yet neceſſary to be made; becauſe if I be not melancholily diſpoſed, I think France took her greatnes (and under the covert thereof hath plaid her pranks) from the diſputes and ill intelligences, that have bin ever ſince, betwixt this King, nay, (as ſhall be obſerved hereafter) betwixt the Uſurper Cromwell and Parliaments, and would I could end it there. For as this great man made England and Holland in this great action againſt Rochel contributary unto her greatnes, and conſequently to their own diminution; ſo ſhe was made thereby ſo powerful at home, that ſhe ma-

ſter'd ſo entirely her own people, and rendred her Government ſo arbitrary and deſpotical, that ſhe was ſoon at leaſure to cut out work for Spain in Flanders, Catalonia, and Italy; and for Germany, (a little while after) by bringing in the King of Sweden, and feeding and aſſiſting the leſſer Princes there, eſpecially Prince Bernard Weymar of Saxe; inſomuch as tho' that conquering King Guſtavus was ſlain, (whoſe humor would not long have agreed with the French's aſpiring greatnes) yet ſhe ſo ordered that affair, that ſhe clipt the wings of the Auſtrian greatnes in Germany, and fixed her ſelfe almoſt entirely in that great province of Alſace, and made Sweden as conſiderable thro' his great conqueſt in Pomeren. And tho' ſhe long flattered and careſt the ſtate of Holland, and by men and money aſſiſted them to employ their great and experienc'd Captain and wiſe Stateſman, Henry Prince of Orange, in taking many conſiderable towns in Flanders; yet ſhe made their victories and armes to be put into the ſcale of her own aſcending greatnes.

the ſucceſs of them.

But the Empire had never had their peace, untill France had bin Emperor, had not that unfortunate, but good, Stateſman, De Witt, foreſeen the danger, and brought

Treaty at Munſter.

brought over that State, and their then almoſt ſuperannuated great Generall, the Prince of Orange, (to which worke, not here to mention other perſons and things, *the* Spaniſh gold contributed) to be reſolute at Munſter to agree a peace for themſelves apart, if France refus'd to be involv'd in it, which France little expected. For ſhe thought, that ſhe had it in her power to conclude or break this Treaty, as ſhe pleaſed: but thus neceſſitated unto this, and having learnt her old Friends, the grand Signior's policy, to ſecure conqueſts by ſhort peaces, and ſoon after enlarge them by ſharp warrs, ſhe ere long accepted another Treaty at Font-Araby, in order unto a marriage between the Infanta of Spain, and the young King of France. Where, how courſly our then exiled King was uſed by *the* French, all know; and how ſolemnly this peace was ſworne, and how fully excluſive of the French King's pretenſions to any part of Flanders, by reaſon of any title to be derived from the Infanta, is likewiſe notorious: yet when the time of peace had fitted them for a new warr, how ſurpriſingly, and how contrary to ſolemn aſſeverations, France entred Flanders, and made ſo conſiderable and ſpeedy conqueſts, that it

Font-Araby: and

gave jealouſie to all their neighbours, is alſo well known: and how dexterouſly ſhe then made propoſitions to terminate her conqueſts there; and there being no force in readines to give her other check to this haſty proſperity, England, Sweden, and Holland, (which was call'd the Triple-League) becoming guarranty unto the Spaniard, a peace at Aix la Chapelle was concluded; and how before and after this they dealt with us of England (for to do them right, they appear the great ſtateſmen and ſouldiers of this age; for their great difficulty was maſter'd, when thoſe of the Religion were in their own country maſter'd) may now be worthy to touch on.

Aix la Chapelle.

Digreſſion, about England's unlucky alliance with France, ſince

When the providence of God had reſtor'd our King, and he had forgot and forgiven all their ill uſage in his time of diſtreſſe, and even when we had married a Siſter to the Brother of France, France unprovok'd became a guarranty unto the Holland-fiſhing, and inviſibly promoted all miſunderſtandings betwixt us and them; and when wee were actually and raſhly engaged in a warr, they being neuters, ſo own'd all the Dutch prizes wee took, that their neutrality did us more harm, than the others enmity; and then when wee two had ſufficiently bruiſed

the warr between England and Holland.

bruiſed each other, they became inſtruments of a peace, and believing the coar of that warr would rankle in our minds, and they perceiving Holland to be very active with Forraigne-States, to the bounding their greatnes, (or in their own phraſe, *of eclipſing their glory*) they reſolv'd a downright warr with them, (and ſatisfying us, that we might do it without violation of the Triple-League, which was only to ſecure the remaining part of Flanders unto Spain) they drew us in into a ſhare of that warr, and they articled to aſſiſt us with ſuch a diſtinct number of French-royall-men of warr, under their own Admirall, as made the Hollanders neceſſitated to ſett forth the greater Fleet, to fight ſingly with the Engliſh ſhips, for the French were rather ſpectators, than aſſiſtants.

French conqueſts at land.

At land to the wonder of the world, conſidering that countries ſtrong towns, forts, rivers, and garriſons, they came before a place and took it. This befell the Dutch by reaſon of De Witt's vindicative ſpirit towards the houſe of Orange; for he had changed the veteran army there into freſh-watered ſouldiers, the commanders being principally either ſons or nephews of the chief Magiſtrates of the Provinces, and the ſouldiers, the meaner Burgers

or

or native peaſants of the country: which (by all I can find) was the ſingle, but the great, foibleſs of that great man. Thus the French had almoſt conquer'd that whole country in one year. From this unlucky aſſociation wee withdrew our ſelves, and wee had reaſon, when wee perceived, that France had dealt with us at land as bad, as at ſea; but timely the Emperor, nay the Empire and the Spaniard, joyn'd with the Hollanders, which France was ſo apprehenſive of, that ſhe was forc'd, in her own phraſe, *demordre*, or to looſen her hold, and totally to quit the country of Holland; yet theſe various accidents of fortune, (for there is a great difference betwixt a ſingle opulent power, and an united aggregate body, conſiſting of many heads, and a neceſſitous power) ſhe became at laſt ſo victorious, that tho' we were at Nimiguen umpires or arbitrators in the peace, yet ſhe at laſt ſingly gave the law to the Emperor, the Empire, the ſeverall greater and leſſer Princes of it, and unto the Spaniard, and Hollander, and ſhe admitted no articles, but what ſhe her ſelf propoſed to each of them; ſo as, tho' others had the charge and toyle, ſhe onely had the honor, glory, and advantage of the concluſion of this warr. And

now

now like an high-flow'n eagle, ſhe is ſoaring, but at what prey, ſhe will next ſtoop, (ſo ſecret are her councils) God and her own breſt onely know. But ſince her wings are fixed to her body by waxen, worldly, and ſecular policies, He that bounds the ſea, and removes in his mercy his judgments, may melt her wax, and weaken her ſtrength, and make her appear his rod, which he will lay aſide, if not burn, when his work is done. For it is He only, that thro' all ages has changed the times and ſeaſons, and ſett periods to the proſperity of the greateſt Empires. How to excuſe mingling theſe ſo remote actions one from the other, and that in ſeveral Princes reigns, I know not, but by ſaying, I had not courage to interrupt my thoughts.

The proceedings of the two Houſes with the King after the Duke of Buckingham's death, in the third Parliament.

'Tis high time now to revert to our ſtory, if ſuch an immethodical diſcourſe as this is, and is like to be, may be call'd ſo. But the Duke of Buckingham being now dead, it might have bin hoped, the next ſeſſion of Parliament would have buried in his grave thoſe jealouſies, which ſo much prejudiced his Majeſtie's honor abroad, and their own good condition at home; but heaven had not ſuch a bleſſing for us. The complaints about Ton-

Tonnage and Poundage are freſhly renewed, ſo as his Majeſtie conjectur'd, (they now offering him no Bill for the ſame) that they aim'd more at maſtery, or change of government, than accommodation; for he ſaw, if he received it for a ſhort time, how derogatory it would be to him; and if he left off receiving it, before it was given, (which none of his Predeceſſors had done, or indeed could well do, and yet there were ſometime great intervals betwixt their coming to the Crown and the next Parliament) how much it muſt diminiſh his treaſure, and how much confound trade, was viſible, the nature of this duty requiring an uninterrupted collection. Plaine it is, this bred a very inward diſlike in him towards Parliaments, and reſolving to diſſolve this; and ſending down the ufuall ſummons to them to attend him in the Lords-Houſe, they prepoſſeſt of what was intended, as they had formerly in a late Parliament kept a Speaker from returning to his chair, ſo they now forcibly detain this Speaker in his chair; untill they had voted, (as if there had bin ſuch a deſigne) that *whoever endeavored to introduce Popery, Arminianiſm, or any innovation in Religion, ſhould be accounted a capital enemy*; as likewiſe, *who-*

This Parliament diſſolved.

whoever received the duties of Tonnage and Poundage, if not given by the Parlianent; and whoever paid them, (which was as much as to perſwade merchants, either to abandon all trade, or by force free themſelves from payment: and then the defence of the ſeas muſt be abandon'd, and many more ill conſequences ariſe out of it) *ſhould be reputed a betrayer of the ſubject's liberty.* But ſure it was, this hot-ſpirited vote was like to be an overthrow of the ſubject's peace. On theſe ill conditions this third Parliament ended.

Intending to divide this King's reigne into ſeveral periods of time, becauſe it had ſeverall complexions of affairs in thoſe times; wee will make from the beginning of his Majeſties reigne to the diſſolution of this third Parliament, the firſt Period. The ſecond ſhall be from hence unto the two Parliaments in the year 1640, which we may call (untill the Scoth diſturbances and at laſt rebellion) the peaceable and flouriſhing part of his Majeſty reign. And the third ſhall be the unſatiable and unlimitted deſire of change of Government in that long Parliament, which between the year 1640 and 1642 had brought all into a civill

The method of theſe Memoirs.

March 27. 1625.

March 10, 1628.

April & Novemb. 1640.

civill warr: and the laſt ſhall be from 1642 unto 1648, when the worſt of men, by a rage that reach'd to heaven, murther'd the beſt of Princes. Of whom I cannot ſay, that he had the rigid policies, that are neceſſary for a good Prince towards contumacious and innovating ſpirits: (for the ſpirit of government may require of a good Prince the departing from his own good nature) but I will ſay, that to good and loyall minds he was fitted to have bin as happy an inſtrument to make Subjects enjoy wealth, peace, and godlines, as any King, that ever reign'd in this Land: For in his own Perſon, he was as great an example of virtue; and from the year 1628, unto the year 1638, I believe England was never Maſter of a profounder peace, nor enjoy'd more wealth, or had the power and form of godlines more viſibly in it: which will appear, when wee ſhall make a concluſion to theſe Memoires, or Remarks on thoſe times, *viz.* from 1648, to 1660, when Parliaments themſelves were as leudly treated, as they before had treated their Sovereign, and when Chriſt our Lord, the King of kings, by hereſies and ſchiſmes ſeem'd in this land to be crucified afreſh.

The ill conſequences of the diſputes betwixt King & Parliament.

'Twas a clear prophecy of a downfall unto this land, when a King and his two Houſes

Houſes of Parliament thus diſſatisfactorily and often part from one another. For what could be expected but generally uncompliances, and conſequently diſſatisfactions? For the Parliament having omitted this proper ſeaſon of accommodation after the Duke's death, and running all things to extremity; this neceſſitated the King to have recourſe unto ſuch waies of raiſing ſupplies, as upon great exigences were formerly precedented by his Predeceſſors, tho' long diſuſed, and to revive old and obſolete Laws, that ſo he might get that as a right and duty, which he could not obtain from a free will and by a bounty; and to conſider how to maintain his juſt and legal prerogatives.

And now the chiefe Miniſter of State being Sr. Richard Weſton, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, but newly made Lord Weſton, and Lord high Treaſurer of England, and afterwards Earle of Portland, (a Gentleman of ſerious thoughts, and good parts, and verſt in the chiefe employments at home and abroad) theſe titles and preferments ſoon brought him into envy, which ever dogs new rais'd greatneſs. He, like a wiſe man, endeavoured to draw to his aſſiſtance ſuch men, as were known and reputed to be wiſe men,

Sr. Richard Weſton, chiefe Miniſter.

men, and well affected to Parliaments, which was his Master's design, as well as his. And accordingly old Sr. John Savile of the North was called to Court, and made Comptroller of the King's Houshold, and privy Counsellor: and Sr. Thomas Wentworth, his neighbour, was not long after made Lord Wentworth, and Lord President of the North: and Mr. Noy, the generally esteem'd Lawyer, and great Antiquary, was made Atturney Generall.

Sir John Savile.

Sir Thomas Wentworth.

Mr. Noy.

All these Instruments of his Majesties Government, having bin great asserters of the Subjects liberty, but probably now, having discern'd the immoderate design of some popular leading persons to wound the Kingly Government, and wearied with Parliamentary disputes, (about not repairs, but foundations of Government) were willing to be evidences, that tho' the King resolv'd to maintain regall and soveraigne authority, vested in him by law; yet that he intended no absolute or arbitrary power, separate from the Laws in being. And untill such a temper be found out, this Nation will be ever in hazard.

Unto one of them therefore, *viz.* the Lord Wentworth, is assign'd the proposall of raising money upon the hitherto long

long omitted aide due at his Majeſties coronation for Knight-hood, which in Edward the ſecond's time was payable by every man, that had 15 *l.* per annum: but then for the eaſe of the meaner ſort of Subjects, by ſtatute was carried unto 20 *l.* per annum, which was evidence enough of its antiquity and legality: but at this time none were charged, that had leſs than 40 *l.* per annum: and by this Commiſſion thro' the Kingdom, was ſuppoſed to be raiſed 100000 *l.* This moſt men look't upon as illegall, becauſe it ſeem'd antiquated; not conſidering, that former Parliaments had laid it aſleep by the free ſupplies from time to time towards the Crown's neceſſities; which tho' more viſible now than ever, this laſt Parliament would take no notice of; and therefore towards ſupplies for his own ſubſiſtence, the King ſeem'd reſolv'd to make uſe of any authority, which his Regality by any cuſtome or law had formerly exerciſed. And under pretenſe of this kind crept in divers monopolies and projects probably leſs warrantable.

The means the King tooke to ſupply his publick occaſions

Knighthood-mony.

In *ann.* 30.

But the ſubtil French and incroaching Hollander upon theſe diſtractions, the one having his eye upon Flanders, and the other his deſign to undermine us in our trade, and to challenge a freedom in

The occaſion of Ship-mony.

our ſeas of fiſhing, (which occaſion'd the writing of that learned book, *Mare clauſum*, by Mr. Selden) and the Argier Pirats infeſting our Seas, even in our own Channel, and both theſe great States by our neceſſities projecting againſt the ſafety of the whole Nation, deep ſighted Noy conſidering, what authority every ſovereign Power had independant of any others conſent, generally to charge the ſubject for the defenſe of the whole, and well underſtanding, that our Government even by its laws and uſages of former Princes, had ſuch a pretenſe, his propoſals dived to the bottom, and ſunk to the foundation of Government; and ſo he induced his Majeſty to encloſe a caſe in a letter unto the whole body of his Judges, *viz.* *That when the good and ſafety of the Kingdom in generall is concern'd, and the whole Kingdom in danger, whether may not the King, by writ under the great ſeale of England, command all his ſubjects in his Kingdom at their charge, to provide and furniſh ſuch a number of ſhips with men, victuals, and munition, and for ſuch a time, as he ſhall think fitt for the defenſe and ſafeguard of the Kingdom, from ſuch danger and perill, and by law compell the doing thereof, in caſe of refuſall or refractorines? And, whether in ſuch a caſe, is not the King*

The Caſe ſtated.

King the ſole Judge both of the danger, and when, and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided? The Judges, to whom this caſe was referr'd, were

John Bramſton.	George Crooke.
John Finch.	Thomas Trevor.
Humphry Davenport.	George Vernon.
John Denham.	Robert Berkley
Richard Huton.	Francis Crawley.
William Jones.	Richard Weſton.

All men as learned (without it were Trevor, a very honeſt Gentleman) and as upright, as ever fill'd their Benches. Theſe all diſtinctly, to every particular head of the caſe, anſwered affirmatively; and nothing could have led them hereunto, but their books.

Writs iſſu'd out for ſhip-monee.

And now his Majeſty thus authoriz'd in the year 1636 iſſueth out his Writts for ſhip-money, the firſt year to provide ſo many ſhips of ſo many Tunn unto the Maritime Counties only; but the next year the danger being more viſible, the Writts were directed unto all the Counties, and yet the ſumme amounted not to above 236000 *l.* or thereabouts, which was not fully 20000 a month thro' the whole Kingdom; which fell very ſhort of what the future charges amounted unto in main-

taining a rebellion againſt his Majeſty upon pretenſe of theſe grievances. This great Lawyer could diſtinguiſh betwixt what was given the Crown for ſupport of its own grandeur, or ſplendor, or towards the enlargement of the territories of a King by conqueſt, or for the ſupport of the Allies of the Crown, or for the neceſſities of the Crown, or as a free-will offering of the Subject, and betwixt what the Crown could demand from the Subject by its own prerogative in time of viſible and eminent danger: for undeniable it was, tho' the ordinary Guards of the ſea were provided for by the Bills of Tonnage and Poundage, and tho' it was an undoubted right of the Subject, that no toll or tallage ſhould be leavied from the Subject, but by conſent in Parliament: yet when theſe rights were beſt known and obſerved, as an undoubted prerogative of the Crown, thro' many ages, Writts iſſued, and charged ſometimes the maritime Ports and Counties, with ſuch a number of ſhips, as was found neceſſary for defenſe of our ſeas; and when the danger reacht to all the land, the charge was laid upon the inland, as well as maritime Counties. For what threatned all was to be ſupported by all: and at this time the neceſſity and danger was very apparent, if either

either France was reflected on, in her uſe of her then conſiderably encreas'd Navy, or in her haſty building of conſiderable men of warr, or in the aſſiſtance Holland gave them in building for them, or in the Hollanders own attempts in fiſhing on our coaſts, or in both their attempts upon the ſea-towns in Flanders, or in the then actually infeſting our very Channell by the Mediterranean Pyrats; all which were ingredients in the anſwer the learned Judges gave unto the King's caſe ſent to them.

Upon theſe weighty grounds was begun or revived this pretenſe of an ancient right. And it is very obſervable, that as the King began it with all this caution and formall proceedings: ſo when the Subject conteſted it, he gave him as uninterrupted and free courſe and tryall of law, as ever was betwixt man and man, by having a fair and formall judgment given in his behalf; ſo he alſo employed it as ſincerely, not mingling the mony, or proceed from it, with that in his own Exchequer, but keeping them apart, and their accounts, and yet adding conſiderably of his own treaſure to it.

The good effect of Ship-money not repreſented in the laſt Parliament as it ought to have been done.

However, this may be ſaid the King failed in, that he continued it ſucceſſively for ſome years together, and in Parliament

ſied not his people, how prudently and fortunately he had expended it, how it reduced both Dutch and French to modeſty; how it had aſſerted his right againſt their fiſhing, freed our Channell from the Pyrats, ſecur'd the Ports on Flanders ſide; and brought from Spain and other parts a great enlargement of trade, and advancement to our Mint, and every where an honor to the Nation. Which repreſentation would have had influence moſt probably upon his two Houſes, if it had been done, before the King fell into neceſſity and extremity. And on the Subjects part it could not be thought, but they would be very tender to have ſuch a prerogative reviv'd, which ſo long had been diſuſed; ſince a breach in this kind ſoon widens and tempts unto an aſſault. The nature of the affaire would have born ſo many dangerous inferences, that it truely needed a right underſtanding and friendly accommodation, and a readines in the Subject to have made a future proviſion for ſuch contingencies; which method might have diſpos'd a Prince of this good temper (who had made this good uſe of what was rais'd) to have received a moderate ſatisfaction. To bring things to an extremity is an evidence, that maſtery, not liberty, is aim'd at. When

ſuch

ſuch relatives, as King and Repreſentatives of his people, grow jealous of each other, beſides the diſorders and diſaffections it brings at home, great are the diſhonors of it to the Prince, and the loſſes and dangers to the Subject from abroad. In all which concerns moſt commonly paſſion blinds both ſides.

The wayes the King took to vindicate the Regal rights of his prerogative.

However from hence it was, that his Majeſty caſt his thoughts not onely upon ſupplying himſelf with treaſure in order to the ſecuring the Government and ſeas from forreign enemies, but how to vindicate his Regall authority at home, by calling to account ſoon after the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament thoſe Gentlemen, that had done violence in the Houſe of Commons unto that Chaire. And as men moſt active in that unruly work, he queſtion'd Mr. Hollis, Sir John Elliot, Sir Henry Hammond, Sir John Hubbert, Mr. Selden, Corriton, and others; all faulty of ſome unbecoming words or actions. They would have defended themſelves by their pretending priviledge of not anſwering elſwhere, for what they did in that Houſe: but by his Majeſty in Councill they are committed unto ſeveral Priſons, and they ſue out their Habeas Corpus's: they offered to give bayle, but not ſecurity for

Severall Parliament men queſtioned for their miſbehavior in the Houſe.

their good behaviour; and in the King's Bench, they plead likewiſe, that what they had done, was done in Parliament, and therefore there onely accountable. The Judges aſſert the juriſdiction of their Court, to hear the cauſe, replying, that *ſome offences, committed in Parliament, were puniſhable out of Parliament; for tho' it was true, that that which was done by all the Houſe, and which only concern'd the Houſe, was not queſtionable in any inferior Court; yet particular mens offences and exorbitances were in ſuch caſes, as this, a violation of the Chair, very queſtionable;* and they add, that *the Courts demand of ſurety was an act of juriſdiction, not Law, being in prevention of danger to be done to the Common-wealth.* And thus being overrul'd in their plea, they were ſentenc'd upon a *Nihil dicit*, and to be impriſon'd, during his Majeſties pleaſure: and they were ſeverally fin'd: upon payment of which fine they were to be releaſed from their impriſonment.

Their tryall in the King's Bench.

The men of this ſpirit generally thro' the Kingdom made the Government more uneaſie unto the King and his Miniſters; ſo as the authority of the Councill-Table, whoſe juriſdiction reaches not unto private matters betwixt man and man, (where remedy is procurable by law) but naturally

Council-Table

naturally extends unto matters, which relate unto the honor and peace of the State, is now exercis'd with ſome vigilance and vigor. And that moſt wholeſom Court of Starr-Chamber, erected by K. Henry VII, to meet with a middle ſort of acts, which the Common-Law-Courts reach'd not unto, becauſe the particular caſes were too various to fall under a generall law, where the Judges were not entruſted with any arbitrary power, and yet was neceſſary for the Government to prevent, was now watchfull over thoſe humors. Starr-Chamber.

The nature of which Court, and its uſefullnes, is very lively ſett down by that great Chancellor, the Lord Bacon, who wrote the life of that wiſe King, who erected it.

As the nature of this Court of Starr-Chamber was to prevent immoderate might and power in great men, and diſorders of multitudes in populacy: ſo (after the Crown had taken upon it the ſupremacy in caſes Eccleſiaſticall, and purg'd the Engliſh Church from the errors and ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh, and yet was infected, upon the return of the exiled Miniſters after Q. Maries death, principally with a Presbyterian Calviniſtical humor, as likewiſe in ſome other perſons

perſons with a Phanaticall) to ſecure the Government againſt Innovators in all theſe kinds, and to curb their deſigns, the wiſe Q. Eliſabeth erected a Court, called the High-Commiſſion, for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, which fell not under the ordinary juriſdiction of the Biſhops: and the Judges thereof were the Arch-Biſhops and ſome Biſhops, and ſome Lords of the Councill, and ſome Doctors of the Civill Law.

High-Commiſſion.

The nature and juriſdiction of this Court.

The juriſdiction of this Court was to obviate the deſigns of all thoſe Diſſenters, unto whom the Law gave the generall name of *Recuſants*; and the Crown had great reaſon to prevent the deſigns of all thoſe ſorts of men; each Faction having ſome aime to wound the Legall power: the Popiſh party in recovering the Papall authority; the Preſbyterian, zealouſly affecting the ſame pretenſe, was ſetting up the Kirke above the Crown; and the Phanatick, calling the deluſions of the brain the inſpirations of the Almighty, they valued no civil authority. Theſe ſo diverſified truth, that if every one of them, being diſtant one from the other, were in the truth, then was there no unity in truth, nor could there be any bands of peace; which muſt neceſſarily diſſolve all bands of

of government. For wherever a people ſuppoſe themſelves made free by God, or not obliged by God to obey their Princes in all civill commands, which are matters alwayes of an indifferent nature, or matters neither morally good nor bad in themſelves, but as commanded by authority, there all rule of ſoveraignity and ſubjection is overthrown.

How Q. Eliſabeth, K. James, and K. Charles I. proceeded with oppoſers of Regall authority.

The ſteddines of Q. Eliſabeth's government, and at laſt, her reſolvednes not to be overborne by any Faction, either grown, or growing up, made theſe humors in her time rather troubleſom than dangerous; for like a wiſe Artiſt of State, ſhe knew it was eaſier to crop them in the bud, than pull them up by the root: yet her care could not prevent their inſtilling themſelves into the veins of the Corporations, where the averſation unto the Romiſh religion was much more laudable, than their knowledge of the true orthodoxy of the Chriſtian religion, or of the Reformation of their own Church thereunto. But as every ill humor firſt fixes upon ſome weak part, and from thence not timely diſperſt, falls upon ſome nobler; ſo in the peaceable and more remiſſe government of King James, ſome well diſpos'd, as well as ſome factious, Gentry and Nobility

Nobility ſuck'd it into their veins; who when they perceived, that a Clergy thus principled and principling the multitude, conduc'd much unto that Ariſtocraticall government, which they affected, or unto the ſharing of the ſoveraignity between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament, (which, as this conſtitution of Government is, is impoſſible) they imbibed this ill humor ſo faſt, that at firſt it bred in them a contumacy unto Kingly Prerogative; and the Council-Table, and the Starr-Chamber, and the High-Commiſſion-Court, (which were all but chanells to convey beneficially unto the Subject that Royall authority, which the eſſentiall conſtitution of every Government places in the unity of the ſoveraignity; let that ſoveraignity be placed either in one, or more) became unſufferable to them; but the juriſdiction of theſe and ſuch like Courts is purely in order unto the ſecurity of the ſubjects in generall, and of that Government, which for their ſakes is to be kept inviolate: which the men of this age not diſcerning, they at laſt reſolve to obtaine the ſame, tho' it were by a civill warr; and it roſe to this height, betwixt the laſt Parliament in King James's time and that in the year 1640 in this King's reign.

reign. For if neither the Prince perſonally, nor by ſome Court of Juſtice authoritatively, meet not with (as my Lord Bacon phraſes it) thoſe inchoations or beginnings; which lead into ſedition, violence, and undermining the Government both in Church and State, it is too too probable, that the diſeaſes will be too ſtrong for the remedies applied ſo late; and therefore it is no marvell unto men thus affected unto a change, that that ſhould appear grievous, which in truth was moſt highly beneficiall, if prudently and conſcientiouſly made uſe of. The neceſſity of Prerogative.

It may be thought incredible, that ſuch inſtances ſhould be given, or made grounds of complaint againſt theſe Courts even in Parliament; as I my ſelfe then heard, in behalf of a ſervant of Mr. Prynn's for diſperſing libells, and in behalfe of Sir Robert Howard, of the family of Suffolk, for living ſcandalouſly with the Lady Purbeck; and in behalfe of Sir William Waller, who baſtinado'd Sir Thomas Reynolds: which laſt caſe I cannot ſay poſitively was brought in as a complaint, but was often hinted, as an exceſs of juriſdiction. But I ſhall mention them all in the next period of time, and they will all ſerve to

to vindicate theſe ſeveral Judicatures, and to prove, that there was more cauſe to complaine of the head-ſtrong and hard-mouth'd horſe, than of the ſtrait rein or the firm hand of the rider.

Thus his Majeſtie's task was more to curb the innovating humor of an ambitious ſort of men, who made way for their own greatnes, by making Parliamentary authority rivall Regall, than to ſatisfie the Subject in generall; for in Q. Eliſabeth's, K. James's, and this King's reign, (ſet aſide the diſputes betwixt him and them about Parliamentary juriſdiction) no nation in the world at home enjoy'd more peace and plenty; and in this King's reign the Court was moſt regular and ſplendid: in city and country every man ſat quiet under his own vine, and the fountains of juſtice, that decided *meum* and *tuum*, were clear and current; for the Judges were learned and upright men, and the Lawyers of great eminency. The publick charges very light, if men would but have reflected, that there is a neceſſity of a publick charge, or compared themſelves with their neighbours. For the politick like the naturall body, is not in its good ſtate and health by every ſingle member's plenty, but by that portion of it, which is

The good eſtate of England at this time.

con-

contributed to the habit of the whole body; which unto thoſe that know this diſtinction, it is known, that theſe two ſtates, even in the natural body, are different *things*; the one feeding the other, and *the* other raiſing a ſpirit to ſuſtain its benefactor.

At this time men of good eſtates paid about 20 ſhillings, and the beſt eſtates in England then paying not above .... upon that account. And they that made this ſo grievous, ſoon after thought it not amiſs, becauſe it was to maintaine their own ſedition, to lay ten times more upon every ſubject, than he paid before. Trade ran ſo high, that the credit of the Engliſh Merchants thro' every Burſe or Exchange in Chriſtendom exceeded any nations in Chriſtendom, and our Manufactures here increaſed dayly; and I *think* I may truly ſay, that there were few good coblers in London, but had a ſilver beaker; ſo rife were ſilver-veſſells among all conditions. The learning of the Divines, and their grave and ſober converſation (notwithſtanding the malicious inquiſition, that was made into their lives, which by finding out a very few ill men, would have ſcandalized many good) was very eminent, and the purity and orthodoxy of their doctrines needs

needs no other proof, than their books and works, which were then and have bin ſince ſet forth. Nor were the Univerſities ever cleaner in their fountaine or ſtatutes, or better purged in their ſtream or conformity to them.

All this at a time, when all the reſt of the world was embroiled in warr, and heavy laden under taxes; and wee in our manufactures, ſhipping, and trading reaping the advantages of their ill condition. And it could ſcarce be otherwiſe, when wee ſhall give the true character of this highly good, but moſt unfortunate, Prince. He was a perſon, tho' born ſickly, yet who came thro' temperance and exerciſe, to have as firm and ſtrong a body, as moſt perſons I ever knew, and throughout all the fatigues of the warr, or during his impriſonment, never ſick. His appetite was to plain meats, and tho' he took a good quantity thereof, yet it was ſuitable to an eaſy digeſtion. He ſeldom eat of above three diſhes at moſt, nor drank above thrice: a glaſſe of ſmall beer, another of claret wine, and the laſt of water; he eat ſuppers as well as dinners heartily; but betwixt meales, he never medled with any thing. Fruit he would eat plentifully; and with this regularity, he moved

The Character of King Charles I.

His temperance.

as

assteddily, as a star follows its course. His deportment was very majestick; for he would not let fall his dignity, no not to the greatest Forraigners, that came to visit *him* and his Court; for tho' he was farr from pride, yet he was carefull of majestie, and would be approacht with respect and reverence. His conversation was free, and the subject matter of it (on his own side of the Court) was most commonly rational; or if facetious, not light. With any Artist or good Mechanick, Traveller, or Scholar he would discourse freely; and as he was commonly improved by them, so he often gave light to them in their own art or knowledge. For there were few Gentlemen in the world, that knew more of useful or necessary learning, than this Prince did: and yet his proportion of books was *but* small, having like Francis the first of France, learnt more by the ear, than by study. His way of arguing was very civil and patient; for he seldom contradicted another by his authority, but by his reason: nor did he by any petulant dislike quash another's arguments; and he offered his exception by this civill introduction, *By your favour, Sir, I think otherwise on this or that ground:* yet he would discounte-

His deportment and behaviour.

His accomplishments.

nance any bold or forward addreſſe unto him. And in ſuits or diſcourſe of buſines he would give way to none abruptly to enter into them, but lookt, that the greateſt Perſons ſhould in affairs of this nature addreſſe to him by his proper Miniſters, or by ſome ſolemn deſire of ſpeaking to him in their own perſons.

His exerciſes. His exerciſes were manly; for he rid the great horſe very well; and on the little ſaddle he was not only adroit, but a laborious hunter or field-man: and they were wont to ſay of him, that he fail'd not to do any of his exerciſes artificially, but not very gracefully; like ſome well-proportion'd faces, which yet want a pleaſant air of countenance. He had a great plainnes in his own nature, and yet he was thought even by his Friends to love too much a verſatile man; but his experience had thorowly weaned him from this at laſt.

He kept up the dignity of his Court, limiting perſons to places ſuitable to their qualities, unleſs he particularly call'd for them. Beſides the women, who attended on his beloved Queen and Conſort, he ſcarce admitted any great Officer to have his wife in the family. Sir Henry Vane was the firſt, that I knew in that kind, who having a good dyet as Comptroller

ptroller of the Houſhold, and a tenuity of fortune, was winkt at; ſo as the Court was fill'd, not cramm'd. His exerciſes of Religion were moſt exemplary; for every morning early, and evening not very late, ſingly and alone, in his own bed-chamber or cloſet he ſpent ſome time in private meditation: (for he durſt reflect and be alone) and thro' the whole week, even when he went a hunting, he never failed, before he ſat down to dinner, to have part of the Liturgy read unto him and his menial ſervants, came he never ſo hungry, or ſo late in: and on Sundays and Tueſdays he came (commonly at the beginning of Service) to the Chappell, well attended by his Court-Lords, and chief Attendants, and moſt uſually waited on by many of the Nobility in town, who found thoſe obſervances acceptably entertain'd by him. His greateſt enemies can deny none of this; and a man of this moderation of mind could have no hungry appetite to prey upon his ſubjects, tho' he had a greatnes of mind not to live precariouſly by them. But when he fell into the ſharpnes of his afflictions, (than which few men underwent ſharper) I dare ſay, I know it, (I am ſure conſcientiouſly I ſay it) tho' God dealt with

His exerciſes of Religion.

him, as he did with St. Paul, not remove the thorn, yet he made his grace ſufficient to take away the pungency of it: for he made as ſanctified an uſe of his afflictions, as moſt men ever did.

His firmnes in the Religion profeſſed and eſtabliſhed in the Church of England.

No Gentleman in his three nations, tho' there were many more learned, (for I have ſuppoſed him but competently learned, tho' eminently rational) better underſtood the foundations of his own Church, and the grounds of the Reformation, than he did: which made the Pope's Nuncio to the Queen, Signior Con, to ſay (both of him and Arch-Biſhop Laud, when the King had forced the Archbiſhop to admit a viſit from, and a conference with the Nuncio) *That when he came firſt to Court, he hoped to have made great impreſſions there; but after he had conferr'd with Prince and Prelate, (who never denyed him any thing frowardly or ignorantly, but admitted all, which primitive and uncorrupted Rome for the firſt* 500 *years had exerciſed,)* he declared he found, *That they reſolved to deal with his Maſter, the Pope, as wreſtlers do with one another, take him up to fling him down.* And therefore tho' I cannot ſay, I know, that he wrote his *Icon Baſilike*, or *Image*, which goes under his own name; yet I can ſay, I have heard him, even unto

His book entitled, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

my

my unworthy ſelfe, ſay many of thoſe things it contains: and I have bin aſſur'd by Mr. Levett, (one of the Pages of his Bedchamber, and who was with him thro' all his impriſonments) that he hath not only ſeen the Manuſcript of that book among his Majeſtie's papers at the Iſle of Wight, but read many of the chapters himſelfe: and Mr. Herbert, who by the appointment of Parliament attended him, ſays, he ſaw the Manuſcript in the King's hand, as he believed; but it was in a running character, and not that which the King uſually wrote. And whoever reads his private and curſory letters, which he wrote unto the Queen, and to ſome great men (eſpecially in his Scotch affairs, ſet down by Mr. Burnet, when he ſtood ſingle, as he did thro' all his impriſonments) the gravity and ſignificancy of that ſtyle may aſſure a misbeliever, that he had head and hand enough to expreſs the ejaculations of a good, pious, and afflicted heart; and Solomon ſays, that *affliction gives underſtanding*, or elevates thoughts: and we cannot wonder, that ſo royal a heart, ſenſible of ſuch afflictions, ſhould make ſuch a deſcription of them, as he hath done in that book.

His found judgment.

Maſter of an excellent ſtyle and pen.

And tho' he was of as ſlow a pen, as of ſpeech; yet both were very ſignificant: and he had that modeſt eſteem of his own parts, that he would uſually ſay, *He would willingly make his own diſpatches, but that he found it better to be a Cobler, than a Shoomaker.* I have bin in company with very learned men, when I have brought them their own papers back from him, with his alterations, who ever confeſt his amendments to have bin very material. And I once by his commandment brought him a paper of my own to read, to ſee, whether it was ſuitable unto his directions, and he diſallow'd it ſlightingly: I deſir'd him, I might call Doctor Sanderſon to aid me, and that the Doctor might underſtand his own meaning from himſelfe; and with his Majeſtie's leave, I brought him, whilſt he was walking, and taking the aire; whereupon wee two went back; but pleas'd him as little, when wee return'd it: for ſmilingly he ſaid, *A man might have as good ware out of a Chandler's ſhop:* but afterwards he ſet it down with his own pen very plainly, and ſuitable unto his own intentions. The thing was of that nature, (being too great an owning of the Scots, when Duke Hamilton was in the heart of England ſo meanely defeated,

defeated, and like the crafty fox lay out of countenance in the hands of his enemies,) that it chilled the Doctors ink; and when the matter came to be communicated, thoſe honourable Perſons, that then attended him, prevayl'd on him to decline the whole. And I remember, when his diſpleaſure was a little off, telling him, how ſeverely he had dealt in his charactering the beſt pen in England, Dr. Sanderſon's; he told me, he had had two Secretaries, one a dull man in compariſon of the other, and yet the firſt beſt pleas'd him: *For*, ſaid he, *my Lord Carleton ever brought me my own ſenſe in my own words; but my Lord Faulkland moſt commonly brought me my inſtructions in ſo fine a dreſs, that I did not alwaies own them.* Which put me in mind to tell him a ſtory of my Lord Burleigh and his ſon Cecil: for Burleigh being at Councill, and Lord Treaſurer, reading an order penn'd by a new Clerk of the Councill, who was a Wit and Scholar, he flung it downward to the lower end of the Table to his ſon, the Secretary, ſaying, *Mr. Secretary, you bring in Clerks of the Councill, who will corrupt the gravity and dignity of the ſtyle of the Board:* to which the Secretary replied, *I pray, my Lord, pardon this, for this Gentleman is not warm in his place,*

and hath had ſo little to do, that he is wanton with his pen: but I will put ſo much buſines upon him, that he ſhall be willing to obſerve your Lordſhip's directions.' Theſe are ſo little ſtories, that it may be juſtly thought, I am either vain, or at leaſure to ſett them down; but I derive my authority from an Author, the world hath ever reverenced, *viz.* Plutarch; who writing the lives of Alexander the great and Julius Ceſar, runs into the actions, flowing from their particular natures, and into their private converſation, ſaying, *Theſe ſmaller things would diſcover the men, whilſt their great actions only diſcover the power of their States.*

Proofes of his naturall probity.

One or two things more then I may warrantably obſerve: Firſt, as an evidence of his natural probity, whenever any young Nobleman or Gentleman of quality, who was going to travell, came to kiſs his hand, he cheerfully would give them ſome good counſel, leading to morall virtue, eſpecially to good converſation; telling them, that *If he heard they kept good company abroad, he ſhould reaſonably expect, they would return qualified to ſerve him and their Country well at home*; and he was very carefull to keep the youth in his times uncorrupted. This I find in the Memoires upon James Duke

Duke Hamilton, was his advice unto that noble and loyal Lord, William, afterwards, Duke Hamilton, who ſo well ſerv'd his Son, and never perfidiouſly diſſerv'd him, when in armes againſt him. Secondly, his forementioned intercepted letters to the Queen at Naisby had this paſſage in them, where mentioning religion, he ſaid, *This is the only thing, wherein we two differ*; which even unto a miſcreant Jew would have bin proofe enough of this King's ſincerity in his religion; and had it not bin providence or inadvertence, ſurely thoſe, who had in this kind defam'd him, would never themſelves have publiſh'd in print this paſſage, which thus juſtified him.

His high value for the Church of England.

This may be truly ſaid, That he valued the Reformation of his own Church, before any in the world; and was as ſenſible and as knowing of, and ſevere againſt, the deviations of Rome from the primitive Church, as any Gentleman in Chriſtendom; and beyond thoſe errors, no way quarrelſom towards it: for he was willing to give it its due, that it might be brought to be willing to accept, at leaſt to grant, ſuch an union in the Church, as might have brought a free and friendly communion between Diſſenters, without the one's totall quitting

quitting his errors, or the other's being neceſſitated to partake therein: and I truly believe this was the utmoſt both of his and his Archbiſhop's inclinations; and if I may not, yet both theſe Martyrs confeſſions on the ſcaffold (God avert the prophecy of the laſt, *Venient Romani*) ſurely may convince the world, that they both dyed true Aſſertors of the Reformation. And the great and learned light of this laſt age, Grotius, ſoon diſcern'd this inclination in him: for in his dedication of his immortal and ſcarce ever to be parallel'd book, *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, he recommends it to Lewis XIII, King of France, as the moſt Royall and Chriſtian deſign imaginable for his Majeſtie to become a means to make an union amongſt Chriſtians in profeſſion of religion; and therein he tells him, how well-knowing and well-diſpoſed the King of England was thereunto. In a word, had he had as daring and active a courage to obviate danger; as he had a ſteddy and undaunted in all hazardous rencounters; or had his active courage equall'd his paſſive, the rebellious and tumultuous humor of thoſe, who were diſloyall to him, probably had been quaſh'd in their firſt riſe: for thro'-out the Engliſh ſtory it may be obſerved, that the

Wherein he ſeemed defective.

the ſouldier-like ſpirit in the Prince hath bin ever much more fortunate and eſteem'd, than the pious: a Prince's awfull reputation being of much more defence to him, than his Regall (nay Legall) edicts.

What diſturbed the good ſtate and peace of thoſe times.

After all this, it may be asked, what meridian or noon-day devil diſturb'd all this happy ſtate; and it may too truly be anſwered, it was an envy unto the Regall prerogative, which being ſingly, tho' limitedly, lodged in the Crown, was endeavoured to be transferr'd jointly unto the King, and (as they call'd it) Parliament, which the Regall or Legall conſtitution of this Engliſh government will not bear. For, as ſhall be ſhew'd hereafter, in a tract by it ſelf, the King is ſingly ſovereign, and no power co-ordinate with him; nor in the Legiſlative power hath either one or both Houſes more authority, than to adviſe or conſent unto what may be beneficiall unto the ſubject and weal-publick: for upon thoſe two hinges, *viz.* of prerogative, to keep the body of the people in their politick conſtitution in peace, and good order, and municipal laws; and to preſerve inoffenſivenes in converſation, and juſtice in contracts of one man towards another, doth the weight of all govern-

government turn. Nor was ever Prince more willing, that the Benches in Weſtminſter-Hall ſhould determine of his prerogatives, than was this. Witnes the caſes of the Parliament-Gentlemen, queſtion'd in the King's-Bench Court, and of the Ship-money brought before all the Judges of England in the Exchequer-Chamber, both caſes being adjudged in the King's right. But neither of theſe found the ſame Candor, when they were complain'd of in Parliament: for then not by way of appeal the ſentences of the Courts were brought before the judicature of the Lords Houſe, where the Judges might have given the reaſon for their decrees, but the uncontrollable and expeditious way of Legiſlature muſt cut in ſunder that knot, which the oracle of law required ſhould be untyed; and what neceſſity of ſtate forced the King, as he ſuppoſed, legally to require, neceſſity of fortune (the tumults of thoſe times making his condition little leſs, than a dureſs) muſt force him to part with all; which is inſtanced to ſhew, that if any ſpirit of moderation had bin in the two Houſes, there was a temper in this Prince to have prevented any neceſſity of running things to extremity.

Beſides

Why the King was ſo firm unto the Church of England.

Beſides this, the firmnes of this Prince unto the Reform'd religion of his National Church was, becauſe he well underſtood it to be a pure member of the Catholick; and therefore was reſolute in the defenſe of it: and this created him much trouble from the deſigns and obſtinacy of all Diſſenters. For he eſpouſed the protection of it, not as an engine of ſtate, (as preſent Rome) nor as it might ſerve to promote a merchandizing and trading humor, (as our neighbour-State,) but as the inſtitutions thereof were the evidences of the myſtery of redemption; for he was ſenſible, how the ſimplicity of Chriſtian Religion gave both unto GOD and unto Cæſar the things, which belonged unto either. So as tho' the *Depoſitum* of the Goſpell and the function of his Miniſtry were entruſted to an order of men, ſeparated for that ſervice; yet for the civill peace, and that Soveraignity might be lodged in unity, the Secular power had the authority over the Eccleſiaſticall; and neither the Epiſcopall Hierarchy nor the private ſpirit, but were made ſubordinate unto the ſecular authority, as moſt conducing unto the peace of mankind. This ſcripturall doctrine was rivetted in him; and an obſtinate and furious zeal had ſo poſ-

poſſeſſed Diſſenters, that when they could mingle their leavenous zeal with a diſſatisfied Lay-lump; (tho' at firſt they were not one of twenty) it ſo fermented the blood, that at laſt it caſt the whole body into a diſtemper, then burſt into a feaver, then ended in a phrenſy; (as this ſtory in the concluſion will ſhew) ſo as the King and his Biſhops were gently treated, when they were onely ſaid to be affected to Popery, and ſuppreſſors of the power of godlines; and the envy was directed chiefly againſt Archbiſhop Laud, who was principally in his Maſter's favour; but how cauſeleſly, this character following will manifeſt.

But whether all this ſaid on this King be true, as certainly it is, read the old Earle of Briſtoll's book, wrote on his own behalfe, not the King's.

The character of Archbiſhop Laud.

Archbiſhop Laud was a man of an upright heart and a pious ſoul, but of too warm blood and too poſitive a nature towards aſſerting what he beleived a truth, to be a good Courtier; and his education fitted him as little for it, as his nature: which having bin moſt in the Univerſity, and among books and ſcholars, where oft canvaſſing affairs, that are agitated in that province, and prevailing in it, rather gave him wrong than

than right meaſures of a Court. He was generally acknowledg'd a good ſcholar, and throughly verſt in Eccleſiaſtical learning. He was a zealot in his heart both againſt Popery and Presbytery; but a great aſſertor of Church-authority, inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and as primitively practiſed; which notwithſtanding, he really and freely acknowledged ſubject unto the ſecular authority. And therefore he carefully endeavored to preſerve the juriſdiction, which the Church anciently exerciſed, before the ſecular authority own'd her; at leaſt ſo much thereof, as the law of this our Realm had apply'd to our circumſtances; which our common Lawyers dayly ſtruck at; and thro' prohibitions and other appeals every day leſſened; and this bred an unkindnes to him in many of the long robe, however ſome of them were very carefull of the Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction.

Zealous againſt Popery and Preſbytery.

A great aſſertor of Eccleſiaſticall authority and diſcipline.

He was a man of great modeſty in his own perſon and habit, and of regularity and devotion in his family: and as he was very kind to his Clergy, ſo he was very carefull to make them modeſt in their attire, and very diligent in their ſtudies, in faithfully diſpenſing God's Word, reverently reading the Prayers, and

Kind to, and very watchfull over his Clergy.

and adminiſtring the Sacraments, and in preſerving their Churches in cleanlines and with plain and fitting ornament, that ſo voyd of ſuperſtition, GOD's Houſe in this age, where every man bettered his own, might not lye alone neglected; and accordingly he ſett upon that great work of St. Paul's Church, which his diligence perfected in a great meaſure: and his Maſter's piety made magnificent that moſt noble ſtructure by a Portico: but not long after the carved work thereof was broken down with axes and hammers, and the whole ſacred edifice made not only a den of thieves, but a ſtable of unclean beaſts, as I can teſtifie, having once gone into it purpoſely to obſerve: from which contamination Providence ſome few years ſince cleanſed it by fire.

The great work of re-edifying the Cathedrall of St. Paul carried on by him.

He prevented likewiſe a very private and clandeſtine deſigne of introducing Nonconformiſts into too too many Churches; for that ſociety of men (that they might have Teachers to pleaſe their itching ears) had a deſigne to buy in all the Lay-Impropriations, which the Pariſh-Churches in Henry the VIII's time were robb'd of, and lodging the Advowſons and Preſentations in their own Feoffees, to have introduced men, who would have intro-

Watchfull over the Puritan-faction.

introduced doctrines suitable to their dependences, which the Court already felt too much the smart of, by being forced to admitt the Presentations of the Lay-Patrons, who too often dispose their benefices to men, rather suitable to their own opinions, than the Articles and Canons of the Church.

All this bred him more and more envy; but if it had pleas'd God to have given him an uninterrupted course, and if few of his Successors had walked in his stepps, wee might, without any tendency to Popery, or danger of superstition, have serv'd God reverently and uniformely, and according unto Primitive practice and purity, and not have bin, as we are now, like a shivered glass, scarse ever to be made whole again. Thus finding Providence had led him into authority, he very really and strongly oppos'd both Popery and Presbytery. He was sensible, how the first by additions had perverted the purity of Religion, and turned it into a policy; but resolving not to contest Rome's truths, tho' he spared not her errors, both Papist and Presbyter, with all their Lay-Party, were well contented, that it might be believed, he was Popishly affected. And being conscious likewise, how Presbytery or

Envyed and hated for it by that Party.

the Calviniſticall Reformation, which many here, and more in Scotland, affected, by ſubſtraction and novel interpretation, had forſaken the good old ways of the primitive Church, and was become dangerous to Monarchy, he ſett himſelf againſt this, as well as that: but both their weights cruſht him.

His book againſt Fither the Jeſuite.

The evidence, which he gave of his zeal againſt Popery, is manifeſted by as learned and as judicious a book, (and ſo acknowledged even by his adverſaries) as ever was written on that ſubject by any man ſince the Reformation, and is ſo eſteem'd by all abroad, as well as at home: which book was ſo well digeſted by his great Maſter's Royall heart and hand, (for Biſhop Andrews, Laud, and Hooker were this Prince's three great Authors) that if that epitome, which his Majeſtie made thereof, and I have ſeen under his own hand, might be communicated, it might be lookt on, as another ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. And this good Biſhop, like his Maſter, maintain'd it as well with his blood, as his ink; for when he was murder'd and martyr'd upon the ſcaffold, (no time for diſſimulation) he dyed with this profeſſion.

But before this time, thoſe, that were purely Presbyterians (and in that ſenſe but

but very competently learned) had gott a shelter under those, who were no way Presbyterian, as Presbytery opposed Episcopacy and Canons, and yet agreeing with Calvin, and those that followed him, in the opinions about Reprobation, Election, Free-Grace, &c. these men were a cover for the purely Presbyterial spirit to take deeper root: and as all dissentions in the Church spawn new sects; so under the purely Presbyterian began to spread those various sects, which wee now call Independents. This was no new thing: for wee have before mentioned, how the Reform'd Exiles in Queen Mary's time, which had retired into Germany, had divided themselves under Episcopall, Presbyteriall, and Independent Professors; altho' this last number of men were then scarse a number; yet of all three there were, and these last were in this Nation in no sort thought considerable, untill the Egyptian slime and dog-star-heat in the Parliament 1640 bred so many Congregationall insects, that they as laudably made Presbytery appear to them Antichristian, as Episcopacy had appeared so unto the Presbyterians. All which is enough to distract weak judgments; and these severall contests about truth enough to

How the Presbyterians sheltered themselves.

Rise of the Independents.

make weak men believe, that there was no truth; and then it is eaſie to make the next ſtep, and to believe, with Mr. Hobbs, the preſent revolutions of nature to have bin eternal; and ſo in relation unto piety and a future ſtate, there needed no other inquiſition to be made, than to obſerve the religion of their Soveraign, or Country; nor in Civill converſe or contract any natural law further obligatory, than as promulged by the Municipall laws of the place.

Confuſions ariſing from the ſeverall ſects: and the advantage thence taken by the Papiſts.

In a word, theſe opinions and conteſts flung all into chaos; and this gave the great advantages unto the Romaniſts, who want not their differences among themſelves, but better manage them: for they having retained a great part of primitive truths, and having to plead ſome antiquity for their many doctrinal errors, and their ambitious and lucrative encroachments; and having the policy of flinging coloquintida into our pott, by our diſſentions and follies, they have with the motion of the circle of the wheel, brought themſelves, who were at the Nadir, to be almoſt at the Zenith of our globe; but by too ſtrong a fire, even at this preſent, when the character is tranſcribing, it may be hoped, projection is hindred, and the glaſſe broken.

But

But ſince wee have mention'd diviſions to be amongſt our Epiſcopall and Canonical men, wee think our ſelves obliged to expreſs, from what root their diſſentions ſprang; and they may both with Jeremy ſay, *Wo to us, that we were ſons of contention*; for whilſt they argued amongſt themſelves about thoſe abſtruſe queſtions of Predeſtination, Free-Will, Free-Grace, *&c.* and ſome followed Calvin and Beza, and others Melancthon and Caſtalio: the ſlye Anti-epiſcopall Preſbyterian, under diſguiſe of great lowlines, and admitting into his ſociety any ſect, that made up this cry, gained opportunities to overthrow both the forementiond Canonical Diſputers. True it is, that ſome little time after our Reformation, whoſe Articles had avoided thoſe thorny diſputes, many of our eminent Biſhops in the above mentioned myſterious points readilier followed Calvin, than Melancthon; yet our firſt Reformers, having wiſely declin'd thoſe points, and kept theſe Articles in ſuch a latitude, as might diſpleaſe neither Party; when in the Univerſity of Cambridge one Dr. Baron a French-man, and another, Mr. Barret, a learned diſputant, began to handle theſe heads more freely, than ſuited with quiet, the good

The originall of theſe differences in points of Religion.

Arch-Biſhop Whitgift, who was very moderate therein, unfortunatly departed from his own uſuall prudence, and was prevailed on by Biſhop Fletcher of London, and ſome others, in order onely to the quieting Univerſity-diſputes, to determine againſt Baron, Margaret-Profeſſor, in thoſe nine Articles, uſually called *Lambeth Articles*, which were reſolved on in November *anno* 1595. Which fact being made known unto Qu. Eliſabeth by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, ſhe was ſo diſpleaſed thereat, that theſe Articles were quaſht, and all threaten'd, that had a hand therein, to be attainted of a *Premunire*; ſo as ſoon after a copie of them was ſcarſe to be found at Cambridge. If theſe great points be examined by that deſcription in Scripture which is there made of the nature of God, or of the naturall freedom of man, or by the moſt primitive Fathers before St. Auſtin's time, the Aſſertors of that, which ſome of late nickname Arminianiſm, will be found as well by Scripture as reaſon to have no unſoundnes in them. For the men before mentioned, Melanchon, and Latimer, and Caſtalio, and Biſhop Andrews, and Mountague, afterward Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Laud (who by this appears ſingly and by him-

himſelfe no Innovator, though concurring with the forenamed learned men) were all as great Scholars and Divines, as any, who were of a contrary opinion: ſuch, as was Fletcher Biſhop of London, and Mountague Biſhop of Wincheſter, Biſhop Davenant, and Prideaux, or any others. But all this is ſaid to bewaile this contention in the Church, and to ſhew, that if both ſides had obſerved the wiſdom of the Churches reformation in the latitude of her articles, neither ſide by their fly adverſaries had bin overthrown. Thus ſtill it is, *Perditio tua ex te, O Iſrael!*

And hence it may appear, that both ſides were faulty; it being much more neceſſary for us men to know, what God poſitively hath determined in relation to our duty, than what in point of decree he hath preordained in order unto our ſalvation. Altho' it is true too, that God's eternal decrees of man's laſt end were not without a juſt reſpect unto his actions; as our ſalvation it ſelf depends upon the performance of our duty thereto required. But 'tis not neceſſary for Governors by any other force, than that of reaſon, to bow mens minds into a rigid conformity of opinions, if they be learned and ſincere perſons, who edify the ſouls

of men towards God, and confirm the allegiance of men towards their Prince: but to ſilence ſuch diſputes in the Pulpit, the King had given order, but was not well obſerved on either ſide. What followed this diviſion, may teach men of future ages the danger of widening differences upon unneceſſary or circumſtantial points, among thoſe, who agree in fundamentalls, or diſagree upon ſo ſlight abſtruſe doctrines, as are not capable of eaſy reſolutions; eſpecially when an enemy watches the undermining both. For whilſt the Church-Puritan, (of which number there were very many knowing, learned, and probably good men) oppoſed the more Canonical Churchmen, the Knave-Puritan overthrew both: for the leſs ceremonial ſort of Churchmen, ſuch as Biſhop Prideaux, and Biſhop Brownrig, and Doctor Oldſworth, and Shute, and Udall, all diſclaimed the Reformation projected by our long Lay-Parliament-men and Aſſembly of Divines, and atteſted our own, and were involv'd without diſcrimination in the Churches miſery. And Dr. Prideaux was wont to ſay, tho' Arch-Biſhop Laud and he could never underſtand one another till it was too late, yet he reverenced no man more before his death, that he had wiſely

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foreſeen what lay hid to many of them; and Dr. Oldſworth himſelfe told me at Hampton Court, that he had bin as much enlightned in Church Affairs by the King himſelfe, as by any of the books, he ever had read. And I remember in a large diſcourſe of this nature, he ſaid, *I will ingenuouſly confeſs to you, I have denyed a good Scholar his Grace at Cambridge, for the choiſe of his Queſtion, becauſe I thought there had bin ſome ſpirit of malice in it; which if I were in the ſame charge, I ſhould now grant it him, becauſe I know he had a diſcerning ſpirit.*

Latitudinarians.

Theſe reflexions make me heartily ſorry, that we have a new word of diſtinction come up amongſt us, *viz. Latitudinarian*; the ill conſequences whereof we may in the future feele, if it be not well expounded by thoſe good and learned men, to whom it is aſſigned; for this too often falls out, that in future ages thoſe, that take up the title, retain not the moderation of the firſt Aſſertors.

Wherein this great and good Arch-Biſhop ſeemed defective

As this good Arch-Biſhop I write of, had theſe great eminences, ſo he may be acknowledged to have failed in thoſe prudences, which belong unto a great Miniſter of State, who like a wiſe Phyſician is to conſider times and ſeaſons,

as well as perſons and diſeaſes, and to regard thoſe complications, which uſually are mixed in ill habits of body, and to uſe more alterative than purgative Phyſick. For popular bents and inclinations are cured more by a ſteddy than precipitate hand or counſel; multitudes being to be drawn over from their errors, rather by wayes they diſcerne not, than by thoſe, which they are likely to conteſt; whilſt upon ſingle perſons and great men courſes of violence and authority may be exerciſed. But Miniſters of State unwillingly run this courſe, becauſe they would have the honour of perfecting the work they affect in their own time; and the multitude of this good man's buſines, and the promptnes of his nature, made thoſe ceremonies, which are neceſſary by great Perſons to be paid unto men in his ſtation, to be unwelcome unto him, and ſo he diſcharged himſelfe of them, and thereby diſobliged thoſe perſons, who thought their quality, tho' not their buſines, required a patient and reſpectfull entertainment. This I reflect upon, becauſe I heard from a good hand, that the Marquiſs of Argile making him an inſidious viſit, and he, knowing he neither loved him nor the Church,

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entertaining him not with that franknes he ſhould have done, but plainly telling him, he was at that time a little buſy about the King's affairs, this great Lord took it ſo much in indignation, and eſteem'd it ſuch a Lordly Prelacy, that he declaimed againſt it, and became (if poſſible) more enemy both to him and the Church, than he was before. The rectitude of his nature therefore made him not a fitt inſtrument to ſtruggle with the obliquity of thoſe times; and he had this infirmity likewiſe, that he beleived thoſe forward inſtruments, which he employed, followed the zeal of their own natures, when they did but obſerve that of his: for as ſoon as difficulty or danger appeared, his petty inſtruments ſhrunk to nothing, and ſhewed, from whom they borrowed their heat.

He weighed not well his Maſter's condition; for he ſaw him circled in by too many powerfull Scots, who miſaffected the Church, and had joyned with them too many Engliſh Counſellors and Courtiers, who were of the ſame leaven. If he had perceived an univerſall concurrence in his own Clergy, who were eſteemed Canonicall men, his attempts might have ſeem'd more probable, than otherwiſe it could: but for him to think

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by a purgative Phyſick to evacuate all thoſe cold ſlimy humors, which thus overflowed the body, was ill judged; for the good affections of the Prince, back'd only by a naked or paper-authority, ſooner begets contumacy, than complyance in diſſaffected Subjects. And if this authority ſerved him not, but with difficulty, to maſter that great Prelate, Williams, Lord Biſhop of Lincolne, (who underſtood a Court with more ſagacity, than he did, and who was as high in ſpirit, as he had bin in place, having born the great Seale of England, and who, if he had bin look'd on in his inſide, was more a diſcontented Courtier, than an uncanonicall Biſhop: (notwithſtanding his *Coal from the Altar*) ſo as in a word, the conteſts between theſe two great Prelates expreſt a temper, which became neither of them: nor if his authority ſerv'd not without the ſame difficulty to bring Prynne, Burton, Baſtwick, and Leighton to their juſt ſentence, but their proſecution rather ſerv'd to create envy, than deterr any from their ſcandalous practices, it might juſtly have cautioned him, when the time came, from irritating this malignant humor in Scotland; which was too likely to be powred into the veins of England: for this maxime

Biſhop Williams.

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is never to be forgott by the State-Physician, *Malum benè positum non est movendum*; if the stone lye quiet in the body, provoke it not by diuretiques. And this shall suffice to be said of that well intentioned, but not truly considerative, great man, unles wee add this single thing further, that he who looks upon him thro' those Canons, which in Synod passed in his time, will find him a true Assertor of Religion, Royalty, and Property; and that his grand designe was no other, than that of our first Reformation; which was, that our Church might stand upon such a foot of Primitive and Ecclesiastick authority, as suited with God's word, and the best Interpreters of it, sound reason and Primitive practice. And untill this Nation is blest with such a spirit, it will lye in that darknes and confusion the Sects at this time have flung it into.

The character of Bishop Juxon.

Having thus described one great Church-man, wee may the more fitly make mention of another, because they were so intimate and bosome Friends, and because this first is supposed to have introduced the last into that eminent employment of Lord Treasurer. Had nature mingled their tempers, and allayed the

the one by the prudence and foreſight of the other, or inſpirited the other by the zeal and activity of his Friend, nature had framed a better paiſt, than uſually ſhe doth, when ſhe is moſt exact in her work about mankind: ſincerity and integrity being eminent in them both. This reverend Prelate, Dr. Juxon, then Biſhop of London, was of a meek ſpirit, and of a ſolid and ſteddy judgment; and having addicted his firſt ſtudies to the Civil Law; (from which he took his title of Doctor, tho' he afterwards took on him the Miniſtry) this fitted him the more for Secular and State affairs. His temper and prudence wrought ſo upon all men, that tho' he had the two moſt invidious characters both in the Eccleſiaſticall and Civil State; one of a Biſhop, the other of a Lord Treaſurer: yet neither drew envy on him; tho' the humor of the times tended to brand all great men in employment. About the year 1634 the Lord Portland dyed, and the Treaſury was put into Commiſſion; by which means the true ſtate thereof became diſtinctly to be known: and in the year 1635, this good and judicious man had the white ſtaff put into his hand: and tho' he found the revenue low and much anticipated; yet withall meeting with

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times peaceable and regular, and his Maſter enclined to be frugall, he held up the dignity and honor of his Majeſtie's Houſhold, and the ſplendor of the Court, and all publick expences, and *juſtice* in all contracts; ſo as there were as few diſſatisfactions in his time, as perchance in any, and yet he cleared off *the* anticipations on the revenue, and ſett his Maſter beforehand. The choice of this good man ſhewed, how remote it was from this King's intentions, to be either tyrannicall or arbitrary; for ſo well he demeaned himſelfe thro' his whole ſeaven years employment, that neither as Biſhop or Treaſurer, came there any one accuſation againſt him in that laſt Parliament 1640, whoſe eares were opened, nay itching after ſuch complaints. Nay even after the King's being driven from *London*, he remained at his houſe, belonging to his Biſhoprick, in Fulham, and ſometimes was viſited by ſome of the Grandees, and found reſpect from all, and yet walked ſteddily in his old paths. And he retained ſo much of his Maſter's favour, that when the King was admitted to any Treaty with the two Houſes Commiſſioners, he alwayes commanded his attendance on him: for he ever valued his advice. I remember, that the King

King, being busy in dispatching some letters with his own pen, commanded me to wait on the Bishop, and to bring him back his opinion in a certaine affaire: I humbly pray'd his Majestie, that I might rather bring him with me, least I should not expresse his Majestie's sense fully, nor bring back his so significantly, as he meant it; and because there might be need for him further to explain himselfe, and least he should not speake freely to me: to which the King replyed, *Go, as I bid you, if he will speak freely to any body, he will speak freely to you: This* (the King said) *I will say of him, I never gott his opinion freely in my life, but when I had it, I was ever the better for it.* This character of so judicious a Prince I could not omitt, because it carried in it the reason of that confidence, that called him to be his Majestie's Confessor before his death, and to be his Attendant on the scaffold at his death; so as all Persons concurring thus about this good Prelate, wee may modestly say, he was an eminent man.

The important transactions of State, between 1628 and 1640, to be found in the following characters of severall great men.

Having fallen into this method of setting forth the nature of the seed by the temper of the mould or ground it grew in, the rest of the most important actions in this period of time, *viz.* between

between 1628 and 1640, will be found in the characters of the chiefe Agents in thoſe times, *viz.* the King's aſſiſtances unto the King of Sweden in the character of Marquis Hamilton, who was the hinge, on which turned all the Scotch affairs, and whoſe ſervice the King uſed in quenching the flame of their firſt commotions and after-rebellions; unto which, whether he brought water or oyl, was to moſt men doubtful; but both to him and them the fire was at laſt deſtructive: and in the character of the Earl of Strafford will be involved the ſtate of Ireland in that time: and in the Earle of Northumberland's character falls in all our Navallaffairs, eſpecially that interruption we gave unto the Hollanders in their fiſhing on our ſeas, and their ſubmiſſion to exerciſe it by our licenſe and leave, paying a ſmall duty: and in his time of being Admirall, an accompt of the great affront wee receiv'd, in permitting the Dutch Fleet to attaque the Spaniſh, even in our own ports and Dover-road. Which diſreputation, as likewiſe the firſt diſhonorable Pacification made with the Scots, miniſtred groſs food to nouriſh the ill humors of deſigning and innovating perſons; and the laſt preparations againſt Scotland, tho' chiefly managed by

the Earle of Strafford, as Lieutenant to the Earle of Northumberland, Generall of that expedition, being as unfortunate as the former, made way for all thoſe ſubverſions of government and miſeries of this people, which the councils in the Parliament begun in November 1640 brought upon this land.

The King's progreſs into Scotland.

In the year 1633 ſtrongly invited thereunto by the Scots, the King reſolved of a progreſs thither, in order to his Coronation. But before we bring him on his way in that journey, wee will give ſome little account, how the ſtate of affairs ſtood then betwixt Him and his Nobles, and betwixt Him and his Eccleſiaſticks.

The ſtate of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland.

The Reformation of the Church in Scotland being made in the minority of King James, and the eyes of the Nobility and Gentry being ſtronglyer fixt upon the Church-lands, than upon any other part of that deſigne, it may well be conceived, their proceedings therein could not be very regular. And tho' by Act of Parliament the lands of the Cathedrall-Churches and Religious Houſes, were given to the Crown, yet by the craft and connivence of the Earle of Murray, then Regent, and not by any grant, theſe lands were ſhared among many of the Nobility;

Nobility; and by this means the Nobility oppreſſively lorded it over their vaſſalls, and gave the Clergy ſo poor ſtipends, that 'twas very ſcandalous; and the Crown, thus defrauded, had no means to releive them. Queen Eliſabeth made politick uſes of the factions and diſorders of thoſe times: and therefore rather reproved, than redreſt them. However, ſhe was forc'd to tell them, unles they would make ſome conformity of their Church unto ours, ſhe could not ſo well, or ſo heartily own them againſt the French; who powerfully appeared in behalfe of their Queen, as they found it neceſſary for her to do; and they made her large promiſes therein, which ſhe contented her ſelfe with: and afterwards not much more lookt after. For the diſorders of one State are the advantages of another, and they, like ill-natured greedy Chirurgeons, putt back a wound with one plaiſter, which they had forwarded towards a cure by another. But King James, when he was come to ripe years, like the true Father of his Country, ſincerely ſought the remedy of their diſordered Reformation, and really affecting what Queen Eliſabeth propoſed in the year 1596 towards a conformity of the two Churches of England and Scotland,

procured an order from an Aſſembly at Aberdeen, for compoſing a Liturgy and a new book of Canons. This was ſix years, before he came to the crown of England. And in the year 1606 he obtain'd another at an Aſſembly at Perth, which was four years after his acceſſe to this Crown; ſo as both before and after he ſtruggled for the ſame thing; and he obtain'd, that the Lord's Supper ſhould be received kneeling, and an authority for the uſe of ſome other decencies in Church-affairs; and Marquis Hamilton the father, being his Commiſſioner in the year 1612, by the Regall authority ſettled thirteen Biſhops in that Kingdom: whereof three were ordain'd by the Biſhops in England, and thoſe three ordain'd all the reſt in Scotland. All which is thus early ſett down, to ſhew, that, tho' unfortunately, King Charles went on with Queen Eliſabeth's and his Father's deſigne; and what not onely the Clergy, but many great Lords there now countenanced, and too too probably was advanc'd by that well meaning, but not ſufficiently cautious, Prelate, Archbiſhop Laud; yet neither this King, nor this Archbiſhop began it.

* The true cauſe of the tumults and rebellion of the Scotch Covenanters.

Nor was this the true cauſe * of the diſcontent; for this King had early taken notice

notice of the depredation made in Regent Murrey's time, and of the weake title of the great men there to thoſe lands; and in behalfe of the Crown, and of the poor Clergy-men, and of the miſerable vaſſalls, and yet not without reſpect unto the preſent owners in confirmation of their title, upon all theſe grounds he iſſued a commiſſion to examine this matter: but this was ſo reſented, that it was noiſed to be an endeavour to introduce Popery, and to reduce Scotland (like Ireland) into the form of a Province. However the Scots ſeemed very eager for the King's coming among them; but our Stateſmen ſhould have liquidated theſe differences, before they ſhould have thought of this journey of his Majeſtie's; for the King ought to have entred that country, like a river, that overflows an hungry ground, and leaves ſome ſilt behind it; but putting them rather to expences by the emulation of the apparell and feaſtings, which for the honor of their Nation the Scots very nobly performed; when the King went back, they were very ſenſible of their expences, and found vanity left emptines: and an hungry ſpirit is alwaies a complaining one; and they knew, England was not like to yeild them ſuch a harveſt in this King's

reign, as it had done in his Father's. And the King during his abode there, having uſed in his own Chappel the Liturgy of the Church of England, was made believe, he might in the future fix that ſervice there: but this was but uſed as a leaven to ſwell and puff up the populacy, and by ſuch means, rather to ſeize on what the Church held, than to reſtore any thing, which wrongfully the Lay-Lords had uſurpt.

Marquis Hamilton's character.

Having ſaid thus much of the ſtate of the Scotch affairs in generall, wee will now returne to the great man, Marquiſs Hamilton, who had the great influence on them. The family of the Hamilton's is of an high and noble deſcent in Scotland, and are ſuppoſed to be nigher in blood unto the Crown, than is that of the family of Lenox: but I ſhall not intermeddle in that Heraldry. The perſon of the Father I knew at Court in the latter end of King James's time, and in the beginning of this King's Reign. He was a goodly, proper, and gracefull Gentleman, and generally eſteemed, as well by the Engliſh, as beloved by the Scots. He fed his own greatnes and pleaſure, more than buſied himſelfe in intrigues or deſignes at Court. He had two ſons, James and William; neither of them ſo gracefull per-

perſons as himſelfe, and both of ſome hard viſage: the elder of a neater ſhape, and gracefuller motion, than his Brother; however, I was in the Preſence-Chamber at Whitehall, when after his Father's death he returned from his travells, and waiting on the King from Chappell with great obſervance, and the King uſing him with great kindnes, the eyes of the whole Court were upon the young man; his hair was ſhort, and he wore a little black callot-cap, which was not then uſuall; and I wondred much, that all preſent, who uſually at a Court put the beſt characters upon a riſing man, generally agreed in this, that the aire of his countenance had ſuch a cloud on it, that nature ſeemed to have impreſt *aliquid inſigne*: which I often reflected on, when his future actions led him firſt to be ſuſpected, then to be declaimed againſt. I have lately ſeen the Memoires of a countryman of his, who is maſter of a very good pen, and who hath repreſented this great man by a light, which few others either of his own Nation or ours diſcovered him by; willingly I would ſully no man's fame, eſpecially ſo eminent a perſon's; for to write invectives is more criminal, than to erre in eulogies. And for my ſelfe, I was known

unto him, and ever civilly treated by him; however I muſt concurr in that general opinion, that naturally he loved to gain his point rather by ſome ſerpentine winding, than by a direct path: which was very contrary to the nature of his younger Brother, of whom that gallant loyall Peer, the Earle of Montroſs, was wont to ſay, that even when this Gentleman was his enemy, and in armes againſt the King, he did it open-faced, and without the leaſt treachery, either to his Majeſtie, or any of his Miniſters: a character worthy of a great man, tho' deflecting from duty.

His marriage with a Niece of the Duke of Buckingham.

He married the Niece of the Duke of Buckingham, the daughter of the Earle of Denbigh, who from a private Gentleman of the houſe of Feilding, was raiſed to this title, having married the Duke's ſiſter: for he took pleaſure in advancing his kindred. Upon what occaſion I know not; but not long after, it being ſuppoſed upon ſome diſcontent, the Marquiſs retired into Scotland; but after the Duke's death he was recalled,

Maſter of the Horſe to the King,

and made Maſter of the Horſe, as he was Gentleman of his Majeſtie's Bedchamber; and had a large proportion of his Majeſtie's favour and confidence, and knew very dexterouſly, how to manage both,

and

and to accompany the King in his hard chaſes of the ſtagg, and in the toilſom pleaſure of a racket: by which laſt he often filled his own, and emptied his Maſter's purſe; and tho' he carried it very modeſtly and warily, yet he had a ſtrong influence upon the greateſt affairs at Court, eſpecially when they related unto his own Country. So as tho' the Duke of Lenox was the greater man, and likewiſe a very well qualified Gentleman, and of great probity and ſincerity, as his actions evidenc'd even unto and after the death of this good King; yet Hamilton was the polar or northern ſtarr.

His firſt publick action, in aſſiſtance given to the King of Sweden by his Majeſty.

The firſt publick action he mov'd in, was in aſſiſtance of the King of Sweden, who in the year 1630 invaded Germany, incouraged and aſſiſted therein by the French, who at that time were digging even at the root of the Auſtrian family; for the Emperor was grown very great by a numerous and powerful army; which the pretenſe of the Palſgrave, our King's brother-in-law, unto the elective Kingdom of Bohemia, had given him opportunity to raiſe, and his ſpeedy ſucceſſes againſt this unfortunate Prince made thoſe forces the more formidable unto the Electors and leſſer Princes of the Empire; which both Spain and the Empe-

Emperor himſelf perceiving, thoſe forces in a great number were not only diſbanded, but the Emperor's Generall Walleſtein, a downright Souldier, (and of ſo ſaturnicall a diſpoſition, nay ſome thought, ambition, that the very Empire was the object of his eye) laid aſide; and yet the jealouſie of the Emperor's greatnes was ſtill kept up; ſo as by this disbanding of the Emperor's forces, and the like of the King of Denmark's, who had improſperouſly managed a warr upon his neighbouring skirts of the Empire, the King of Sweden got opportunity to raiſe a conſiderable army of veteran ſoldiers. Our King was unwilling openly to appear againſt the Emperor; for he had ſome hope to reſtore his Brother-in-law by treaty; nevertheleſs reflecting, how his Father had in that kind been often deceived, he thought it not amiſs to give way, that Marquiſs Hamilton ſhould raiſe 6000 men, halfe Scotch and halfe Engliſh, to ſtrengthen Sweden; and privately the King furniſht Hamilton with 100000 *l.* for that ſervice.

Meldrum and Ramſey, his confidents and creatures.

Hamilton had his eye no ſooner on this deſigne, but he had ſent away beforehand a ſubtil Statiſt, one Meldrum, into one part of Germany, and David Ramſey, a great Hector, both Scots, into another. Ramſey was a Gentleman of the Privy

Privy Chamber unto the King, and lived by his Majeſtie's Table and Exchequer: and yet both were ſo ingratefull, that they opened their mouths with derogatory words againſt the King's perſon and government; which words were ſo well known and proved unto the King, that he expreſt very ſharply his diſpleaſure unto the Marquiſs againſt them both; and upon return unto Court of the Lord Mackay, a man of great honor, and a very good Soldier, he mentioned words of a deeper deſigne, ſaid unto him by Ramſey; which being denied by Ramſey, who made the propoſition to Mackay a tryall by combat was demanded and accepted, and a Court-martiall erected. But during the ſame trial, the King lodged Hamilton moſt commonly ſingly in his Bedchamber, to expreſſe his confidence in him; and at laſt the Martiall court was interdicted, and the combat forbid.

The Marquiſs with his ſmall army being a little before ſhipped off, he landed his men at Elſenore. Sir Henry Vane, his great Confident, by his means was at that time Engliſh Ambaſſador with the King of Sweden; and old Leſly, who was at that time a cheife Commander in the Swediſh army, was ſent by that King with ſome veteran forces to conduct

His landing at Elſenore.

duct the Marquiſs into Sileſia: ſo as wee ſee, how long Vane and Leſley, the Scotch Generall in the ſucceeding Scotch rebellion, were his creatures. But to decline particulars, his Engliſh and Scotch army in a ſhort time without the leaſt conſiderable action or loſſe were reduced into two thin Regiments, and put under two Scotch Colonels: and he returns himſelfe into England; and it may be well ſuppoſed, theſe poor remains of men ſoon mouldred away, like all the reſt.

His returne into England.

Upon his return he would ſometimes merrily ſay, he had learnt no High-Dutch, but one proverb, **Ein bernhertziker ſoldat iſt ein hongfoot foꝛe Godt**; or, *A mercifull ſoldier is a rogue in God's repute.* However, the King graciouſly received him into his old employments and favour. It was part of Mackay's charge, that Ramſey would have drawn him over to the devotion of Hamilton, who might at one time or other lead an army into England. The kingdom of Scotland ſingly could have bin no bait (tho' a crown be a deceiving object) unto him; but the diſturbances in England, which might have been well foreſeen, might prove a good market both for him and all his party. Setled then in his Majeſtie's favour, and reaping

reaping all the benefits of it, wee will now quitt him, untill the year 1637 and 1638, when the tumults and uproars in Scotland bring him upon the ſtage again; and his crafty managing thereof, by the ſentence of thoſe, who a little before had murdered his Maſter, ſoon after brought him to the ſcaffold.

The Lord Viſcount Wentworth, Lord Preſident of the North, whom the Lord Treaſurer Portland had brought into his Majeſtie's affairs, from his ability and activity had wrought himſelfe much into his Majeſtie's confidence; and about the year 1632 was appointed by the King to be Lord Deputy of Ireland, where the ſtate of affairs was in no very good poſture the revenue of the crown not defraying the ſtanding army there, nor the ordinary expences; and the deportment of the Romaniſts being there, alſo very inſolent, and the Scots plantations in the northern parts of that Realm looking upon themſelves, as if they had been a diſtinct body. So as here was ſubject matter enough for this great man to work on; and conſidering his hardines, it may well be ſuppoſed, that the difficulties of his employment, being means to ſhew his abilities, were gratefull to him; for he was every way quali-

The Lord Strafford's character.

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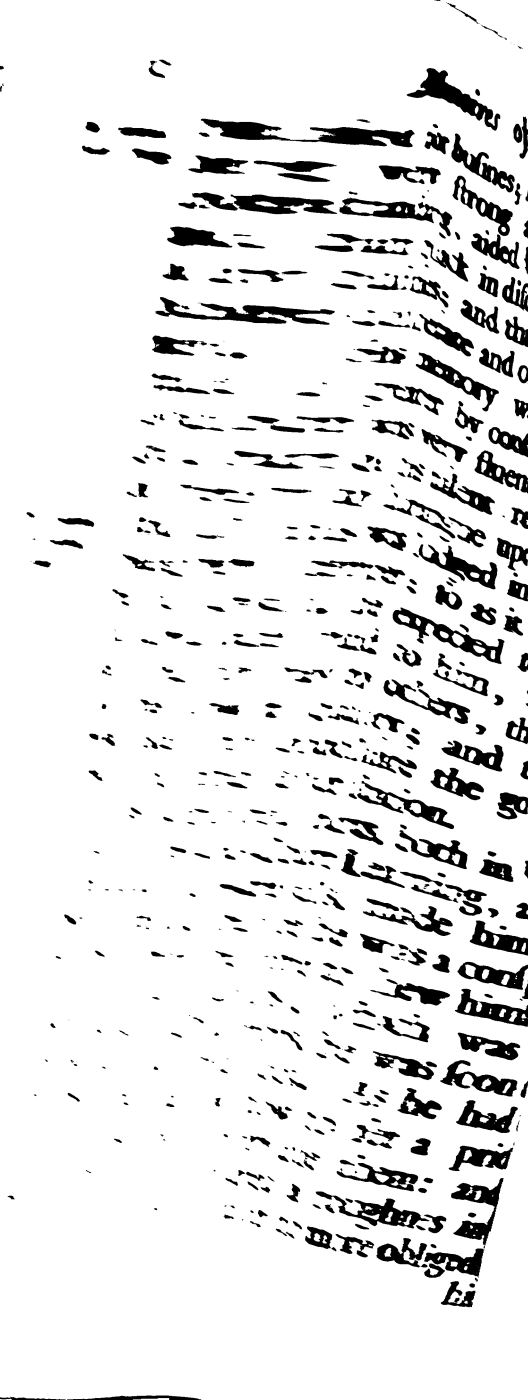

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His naturall parts ſtrong.

qualified for buſines; his naturall facultíes being very ſtrong and pregnant, his underſtanding, aided by a good phanſy, made him quick in diſcerning the nature of any buſines; and thro' a cold brain he became deliberate and of a ſound judgement. His memory was great, and he made it greater by confiding in it. His elocution was very fluent, and it was a great part of his talent readily to reply, or freely to harangue upon any ſubject.

His temper ſomewhat ſowre.

And all this was lodged in a ſowre and haughty temper; ſo as it may probably be believed, he expected to have more obſervance paid to him, than he was willing to pay to others, tho' they were of his own quality; and then he was not like to conciliate the good will of men of the leſſer ſtation.

His acquired parts excellent.

His acquired parts, both in Univerſity and Inns-of-Court Learning, as likewiſe his forreign-travells, made him an eminent man, before he was a conſpicuous; ſo as when he came to ſhew himſelfe firſt in publick affairs, which was in the Houſe of Commons, he was ſoon a bell-weather in that flock. As he had theſe parts, he knew how to ſet a price on them, if not overvalue them: and he too ſoon diſcovered a roughnes in his nature, which a man no more obliged by him,

him, than I was, would have called an injuſtice; tho' many of his Confidents, (who were my good friends, when I like a little worm, being trod on, would turn and laugh, and under that diſguiſe ſay as piquant words, as my little wit would help me with) were wont to ſwear to me, that he endeavoured to be juſt to all, but was reſolv'd to be gracious to none, but to thoſe, whom he thought inwardly affected him: which never bowed me, till his broken fortune, and as I thought, very unjuſtifiable proſecution, made me one of the fifty ſix, who gave a negative to that fatall Bill, which cut the thread of his life.

He gave an early ſpecimen of the roughnes of his nature, when in the eager purſuit of the Houſe of Commons after the Duke of Buckingham, he adviſed or gave a counſel againſt another, which was afterwards taken up and purſued againſt himſelfe. Thus preſſing upon another man's caſe, he awakened his own fate. For when that Houſe was in conſultation, how to frame the particular charge againſt that great Duke, he adviſed to make a generall one, and to accuſe him of treaſon, and to let him afterwards get off, as he could; which befell himſelfe at laſt. I beleive he ſhould

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make no irrational conjecture, who determined, that his very eminent parts to ſupport a Crown, and his very rugged nature to conteſt diſloyalty, or withſtand change of government, made his enemies implacable to him. It was a great infirmity in him, that he ſeem'd to overlooke ſo many, as he did; ſince every where, much more in Court, the numerous or leſſer ſort of attendants can obſtruct, create jealouſies, ſpread ill reports, and do harme: for as 'tis impoſſible, that any power or deportment ſhould ſatisfy all perſons: ſo there a little friendlines and openness of carriage begets hope, and leſſens envy.

His ſtature and mien.

In his perſon he was of a tall ſtature, but ſtooped much in the neck. His countenance was cloudy, whilſt he moved, or ſat thinking; but when he ſpake, either ſeriouſly or facetiouſly, he had a lightſom and a very pleaſant ayre: and indeed whatever he then did, he performed very gracefully. The greatnes of the envy, that attended him, made many in their prognoſticks to bode him an ill end; and there went current a ſtory of the dream of his Father, who being both by his wife, nigheſt friends, and Phyſicians, thought to be at the point of his death, fell ſuddenly into ſo profound a ſleep,

ſleep, and lay quietly ſo long, that his Wife, uncertain of his condition, drew nigh his bed, to obſerve, whether ſhe could hear him breath, and gently touching him, he awaked with great diſturbance, and told her the reaſon was, ſhe had interrupted him in a dream, which moſt paſſionately he deſired to have known the end of. For, ſaid he, I dream'd one appear'd to me, aſſuring me, that *I ſhould have a ſon*, (for 'till then he had none) *who ſhould be a very great and eminent man: but — and in this inſtant thou didſt awake me, whereby I am bereaved of the knowledge of the further fortune of the child.* This I heard, when this Lord was but in the aſcent of his greatnes, and long before his fall: and afterwards conferring with ſome of his nigheſt Relations, I found the tradition was not diſown'd. Sure I am, that his ſtation was like thoſe turfs of earth or ſea-banks, which by the ſtorm ſwept away, left all the in-land to be drown'd by popular tumult. ×

His government of Ireland.

At his coming into Ireland, he diſpoſed all his buſines into ſo good a method and order, and kept up ſo the ſtate of that Court, that it was a good reſemblance of his Maſter's: which at that time was the moſt regular and

ſplendid Court in Chriſtendom; (ſet aſide the King of France his military and numerous Guards) and he ſo ſetled all the Benches of Juſtice, that by able and upright Judges the decrees and diſpatches there were very juſt and expeditious; yet he was too apt to draw ſome particular buſineſſes out of their proper channell unto his own juriſdiction; the inſtances whereof, as they are to be found in the articles of his Charge; ſo by his anſwers thereunto it will appear, that his determinations upon thoſe Caſes were not ſo much his fault, as his haughtines to amplifie his own authority. He brought the Army unto its juſt number; and as he was very carefull of its pay, ſo he was very exact about their diſcipline; which quelled the ſtubbornnes of the Natives, and quaſht their hopes of innovating in ſtate, or ſpreading of their religion. For from a froward inſolence he ſoon reduced them to a modeſt and private exerciſe of their Romiſh profeſſion: for the Deputy was a ſound Proteſtant himſelfe, and endeavoured to regulate the Iriſh Church unto the Engliſh, and by the learning and piety of the good Archbiſhop of Armagh, and the ſolidity of his two Confidents, Dr. Bramhall, Biſhop of London-Derry, and Doctor Mar-

Margetſon, with the other learned Biſhops and Divines there, he brought that Church into a great and good ſtate; and his influence was ſo extenſive, that that great and conſiderable body of Scots, which inhabit about Ulſter, and are as it were a ſelfe-ſubſiſting Corporation, and totally Presbyterians, carried a greater awe to the Government, than in ſome time before they had done. Trade he inlarged very much, which brought both induſtry and wealth to the Nation, and as he managed it, a good increaſe of revenue unto the King's Exchequer: which thro' many revived rights and well-weighed particulars he ſo increaſed, that the revenue of the Nation defrayed the whole charge of it, and he was enabled to remitt a conſiderable ſumme of money, about 20 or 30000 *l.* over hither, which for many ages before had been a charge unto this Kingdom. He ſett up ſeverall beneficiall manufacturies, eſpecially thoſe of yarne and flax; which deſigne, if he had had time to have gone on in, he certainly would have brought to good effects. And as he was very carefull by all ingenious and politick means to profit the Nation, he govern'd it ſo like a good Engliſh-man, that he endeavoured to make that correſpond

with the advantages of England, and to keep the dependences of that Crown on this. In doing all this, and in vindicating the rights and revenues of the Crown, it was unavoydable, but he muſt diſpleaſe ſome great men, as the Earle of Corke, who from a very private Gentleman, (having early and long bin in that kingdom) had raiſed the *moſt* conſiderable eſtate of any great man (native or forreigner) there, Viſcount Ranalagh, and Anneſly Lord Mount-Norris, Vice-Treaſurer; (which in that Kingdom in effect is Treaſurer) and if over theſe, the Lord Deputy made ſome inſpection, it was no marvell, he had ſo little of their good, and ſo much of their ill-will, as they afterwards in his troubles ſhewed.

Embroilments with ſeveral great Perſons of that Kingdom.

Unavoidable it is, but that great men give great diſcontents to ſome, and the lofty humor of this great man (whoſe foible it was to be too often embroyled in thoſe ungratefull and intangling diſputes, which the Latines call *Simultates*, bickerings or animoſities, which lye cold and heavy in the ſtomack, and break forth onely when one Party hath the advantage over the other) engaged him too often, and againſt too many in that kind. And particularly one with the old Chan-

Chancellour Loftus, which was ſullyed by an amour, as was ſuppoſed, betwixt him and his daughter-in-law. But with theſe virtues and infirmities wee will leave *him*, ruling proſperouſly in Ireland, *untill* his own ambition or preſumption brought him over into England in the year 1638, to take up a loſt game, wherein he loſt himſelf.

The Earle of Northumberland's concern in theſe affairs was very diſaſtrous to the King, by the great truſt he put in him, even by the means of the laſt Lord, whom wee have ſo freely charactered. He was of an high-born family, deſcended by his paternal ſtock from Charles the great by Joſceline, a younger ſon of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant, who married the daughter and heir of Percy; yet *this* Family was noted often to be unſteddy to the Crown. But this Gentleman, being a gracefull young man, of great ſobriety and regularity, and in all kinds promiſing and hopefull to be an eminent ornament to the Crown, the King caſt a friendly, nay a fatherly, eye upon him, and was obſerved to uſe him with reſpect, as well as kindnes; and from being Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen, about the year 1636 made him Lord High-Admirall of England, as

The Earle of Northumberland's character.

great a truſt, as could be put upon any man, and enough to have purged a blood, that had ſome taint in it. He was in this year ſent out to ſea with a Navy of about 60 ſhipps, to interrupt the Holland-fiſhing on our coaſt and on the North-ſeas; he took many of their buſſes, and diſperſt others; which brought the States-Generall to make ſuch an application to the King, as might in the future obtaine his licenſe and permiſſion, which the King conceived a vindication of his right and dominion. Yet tho' ſome particular buſſes paid for their licenſes, the terms of agreement were like nails well driven, but not well clincht; ſo as our neighbours were not faſt held, and it made them more ſuſceptible of obſtinate counſels from France, who were at that time undermining our peace by Scotland. For both France and Holland dreaded the conſequence of ſhip-mony, which if our own Nation had perceived the good effects of, they would not, when they mett in Parliament, ſo eagerly have quarrelled, as they did. But to this day we bear not the ſcars of ſuch contentions, but the wounds; for it was then in their power, not onely to have ſecured our ſeas, but our liberties; which accommodation neglected, hath

coſt

coſt us even to this day much treaſure, much blood, and much diſhonour, and may be yet more fatall, if ſo unneceſſarily (as it is ſtill) prerogative and priviledge be made a ball of contention.

During this noble Lord's regimen in the Admiralty a Navall expedition was made into the Mediterranean ſeas: of the ſeverall accidents of which I ſhall not here ſtop to make any mention. A Navall expedition toward the Mediterranean.

As the laſt expedition was very honorable, but remote from us; ſo the action we are now to mention, was too too nigh us, and as diſhonorable: for it was an affront given us in our own ports. For the Spaniards, low in their eſtate in Flanders, in the year 1639 had equipp'd a conſiderable fleet of about 60 ſhipps, to bring mony, recruits, and other neceſſaries for thoſe Countries under the Spaniſh government. Theſe the Holland-fleet met with under the command of their great Admirall Van-Trump with halfe their number; but being light, and fitted onely for warlike action, and he ſo great and good a Seaman, and the winds ſcant for the Spaniard's port at Dunkirk, he drave them into our road and port of Dover, where the Engliſh Royall Fleet or The Dutch Fleet upon our coaſts, afterwards.

ordinary Guard lay, under the command of Sir John Pennington, Vice-Admirall. Upon confidence of our guarding or defending our own ports, the Spaniard trifled away too much time; for both fleets being our friends, he ſuppoſed, that wee were obliged in honor to ſuccour the weaker. But the King haraſſed by his own ſubjects, and the Admirall favouring the popular party, and having a Secretary, one Mr. Smith, highly infected with Presbyterian principles, (tho' he had no more temperance or piety, than his neighbours: which is obſerved onely, that Princes may conſider the influence ſubordinate ſervants may have on their affairs, intruſted in the hands of their chiefe Miniſters) was forced to a reſolution of ſending to the Spaniſh Admirall of not depending on the ſanctuary he had taken. And Van-Trump, who too too probably underſtood our reſolution, and being in this time ſtrengthned by as many more freſh ſhips, as he had at firſt, even in our very ports attacqued the Spaniard; which had wee bin reſolute, and ſtrengthned our fleet, as thoſe of Holland did theirs, that Admirall would have conſidered twice, before he had acted once; and a true-ſpirited Engliſh Admirall would have

Attacquing the Spaniards in our ports.

refle-

reflected more on his Maſter's, his Nation's, and his own honor, than to be ſo unconcern'd, as ours was. But the ſequel of this ſtory, when we ſhall find this great Lord, contrary to his Prince's command, (who had ſo much to his honor intruſted his Navy with him) delivering it up into the hands of the Earle of Warwick, for the ſervice of the two Houſes, and not unto Sir John Pennington, as the King required, will explicate all this riddle.

The riſe and continuation of the Scorch tumults and rebellion.

If wee look back unto the year 1637, wee ſhall find the true reaſon, why his Majeſtie was forced ſo diſhonourably or tamely to permit his ports to be violated in the year 1639. For before this time the Scots had totally ſubverted both their Eccleſiaſticall and Civil goverment, and ſo linkt and confederated themſelves with the diſcontented party in England, who had the ſame affection to a like change: that his Majeſtie's authority ſignified very little; for from the year 1633, in which his Majeſtie had bin in Scotland, unto the year 1637, his Majeſtie ſtrongly affecting a conformity betwixt the two Churches, and deſirous to purſue the ſame on the grounds laid before by his Royall Father; and having before him a Liturgy, deſigned in his Father's time for the

the Scotch Nation; which Liturgy differed not much from ours: (onely it had excluded thoſe leſſons taken out of the Apocrypha, and made uſe of the laſt verſion of the Pſalmes, and other parts of the Bible, to make it the more inoffenſive; ſome other changes were made, as the word *Presbyter* was uſed inſtead of *Prieſt*, &c.) they, who reſolved to reject the whole, would not be pleaſed with the alteration of a part; ſo as when about the latter end of July 1637, that this Common-Prayer-Book came to be made uſe of in the King's Chappell, the principall Biſhops, Officers of State, Nobility, and Magiſtrates being preſent, the rabble or populacy firſt by noiſe, then by violence, ſett upon the Miniſter, then even on the Biſhop in the Pulpit, who aſcended it to quiet that brutality; and afterwards, as they endangered in the ſtreets the Biſhop of Galloway, ſo to make the diſguiſe leſs diſcernible, the Lord Roxborough and Traquaire are ſaid to be purſued; but a little time pulled off this vizard. And the like riot was uſed in other Churches, where this Service was endeavoured to be read. The Lords of the Councell iſſue out Proclamation after Proclamation, ſeemingly to uphold the King's

King's authority, but indeed it was to expoſe it: for ſoon after many of the Nobility, Burgeſſes, and Miniſters not onely petition, but proteſt againſt it; and as if all the ſtones had been hammered before, and the timber ſquared, they are immediately fitted to erect a new frame of Government: and like *Achitophel's* counſel, their firſt act is to make the breach ſo wide, that there might appear no way for reconciliation. For as it were wholly caſting off the King's ſoveraignity, they ſet up their own, by appointing (as they called it) four Tables of Councils: by which the whole Goverment was to be managed; and here the moſt invenomed and diſobedient refractory perſons were placed in the Chairs. And that religion might ſeem the prime care, they debate upon the Confeſſion of faith, ſubſcribed by King James and his houſhold in the year 1580, which exceeded a Nationall Confeſſion, which was made 20 years before: as likewiſe they reflected on that Confeſſion, which was made in the year 1590, which was then occaſion'd by the Duke of Lenox his coming over out of France unto King James, who finding great favour with that King, the Duke being a Roman-Catholick, the

Scots

Scots of thoſe times then raiſed a new jealouſie: and a neceſſity muſt further appear, to revive once again this before mentioned Covenant of 1580, and to enlarge it with that, which they called, *The great band for maintenance of the King's perſon and the true Religion*, and was likewiſe the Negative Confeſſion, becauſe therein they abjured the authority of the Pope, tranſubſtantiation, *&c.*

The Scotch Band or Covenant.

To renew all which was not now ſufficient; for in this year 1637 the men of this age not only revive the Confeſſions of 1580 and 1590, but make the *Band* or *Covenant* without the leave of the King, making it ſo extenſive, that the King himſelfe was not excepted to be oppoſed, nor his authority further to be maintained, than in defenſe of the Goſpell and Liberties; and then they knew, that they ſhould be Interpreters, when he defended or offended either; and they further conjur'd or obliged by this oath each to defend the other. Thus one evil draws on another, and muſt be defended by another; and a firſt unwarrantable engagement neceſſitates them to enter into a ſecond, which is more diſloyall: and an unlawfull oath before God, becauſe it ſeems to be made in be-

behalfe of God, muſt pretend to ſuperſede conſcience, and diſcharge ſubjects of that duty, which they owe to Princes, and in them to God, under colour of God's cauſe. Epiſcopacy, the Canons, the Articles of Perth, the High Commiſſion-Court, the Service-Book, and all that K. James or K. Charles had *done* about the Church, muſt now be totally overthrown, and eradicated, or there muſt be no peace in Iſrael; and to ſtop this current, the Marquiſs Hamilton is ſent as Commiſſioner. Whether this *torrent* was the brutiſh unnatural deſcent of the waters of Populacy, or the artifice of the great Nobility, (among whom Hamilton had ſo many nigh and great friends) which broke the ſluces and pull'd up the flood-gates of thoſe laws, which before kept the Populacy and Presbytery in their due bounds, is a queſtion too hard for any man of another nation to determine. For this people were too much favoured, and too politick in themſelves to admit Engliſhmen to be counſellors and ſpies upon their actions in that kingdom, as ſome of them are of intereſt and power among us. So as from Q. Eliſabeths time to this day they may be truly ſaid, to have walked by a dark lanthorn, where-

whereby they ſaw all our affairs, and yet did move undiſcerned by us in any thing they did deſigne.

The deſigne of the pretended godly, but really rebellious, Covenanters.

And now from this time appears a ſcene of ſo much falſity and impudence, the one to deceive the people by words, which carried duty in them towards the King, and by expreſſions, which ſeemed to have no other aime, but purity of religion and publick utility; and the other humbly to ſupplicate, but really to force the King, to grant every thing, they had the boldnes or diſloyalty to demand; that all the Addreſſes, or the lines, that were in their Petitions, were like thoſe pictures, which lookt upon thro' ſome glaſſes, one way repreſent an Angell, and another ſet forth a Devill.

Former deceitfull Oaths and Covenants.

It is no doubt, but ſuch deceitfull *Oaths* and *Covenants*, as theſe before mentioned, had bin long before practiſed; for whatever is the child of a deceitfull heart, very probably hath bin the early practiſe of mankind. But the firſt time I mett with it in any conſiderable Hiſtory was in the temptation, which falſe and diſloyall Antigonus, one of Alexander's great Captains, uſed unto faithfull and loyall Eumenes, another of them, to debauch him from his loyalty to Alexander's chil-

children; for Antigonus's ambition being as large as Alexander's, he had a great mind to have diſpoſſeſſed the other great Captains, and to have ſingly ſet up himſelfe, and to draw over Eumenes to his party, and to have confirm'd him to himſelfe by oath. But, ſays Sir Walter Rawleigh in his ſtory of it, Eumenes perceiving the meaning of Antigonus, (for that the oath in a few words mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *decorum*, than upon any loyall intent, the binding words and ſumme of all the reſt being ſuch, as tyed him faſt only to Antigonus, omitting the reſervative duty unto the King, or any other of Alexander's children) rejected the ſame. Such difference there is between an honeſt and a loyall heart and a perfidious and diſloyall one. And Eumenes's caſe, was the caſe of thoſe dutifull ſubjects, who both in Scotland and England rather choſe to ſuffer for and with their Prince, than joyne with the treachery of thoſe, who were undermining his throne.

The Scotch Covenant being thus ſett up among themſelves and impoſed upon the whole Nation; and made ſo penal to any, that ſcrupled to take it, that it could not be refuſed without loſs of

This Covenant was impoſed upon the whole Nation under grievous puniſhments.

Bene-

Benefices to the Clergy, and Offices, and Sequeſtrations to the Laity, the body of the whole People as it were appearing then in a commotion; the loyall and the prudent found, that they were no way able to ſtemm the tide, and were all quiet and in ſilence. This was ſo repreſented from Scotland hither unto Court, that Marquiſs Hamilton is haſted away hence thither to compoſe differences: and thus, ſaid ſome, the King ſent oyl to extinguiſh flame.

Hamilton ſent into Scotland, to quiet theſe tumults.

He armes himſelfe with ſuch power, that if he granted all he might do, the King's conceſſions were ſure to weaken his Prerogative and Government; and it was managed ſo, that whatever he offered was rejected; and thus the King was left as devoyd of honor as power. For the King offered by Proclamation to have pardoned all they had done, but they would not receive it, but by a Parliament; and the Proclamation, offered unto this end, becomes a new grievance; for when the King expreſſed himſelfe therein, that the fear of innovations had led them to act, as they had acted, they diſown it, and ſay, that it was actuall innovation. The King allowes them an Aſſembly; here they will not admit of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.*

as

as Members of the Society, but as Criminals. The Commiſſioner ſeems enforced to diſſolve them: they aſſume an authority to continue it, or to convoke another. And here they ſit by his leave, 'till they had aboliſhed Epiſcopacy: and then tho' they permit the Commiſſioner to diſſolve them, confirming the Covenant, *&c.* yet by their own authority they order, that there ſhall be annuall Aſſemblies and Parliaments, when they ſhould find reaſon.

Soon after, as the firſt ſtep to open rebellion, the governing Party in Scotland make a Declaration unto all Chriſtian Kings in juſtification of themſelves. They write and treat particularly with the King of France, with whoſe great Miniſter, Cardinall Richelieu, they had had too long before too too ſtraight an intelligence. And then they call home their old Commanders from abroad, *viz.* Leſley, Hamilton's old Friend, and divers others, and put themſelves into an open poſture of warr. They ſeize upon the caſtle of Edenborough, fortifie the Frith, and gett into their hands the ſtrong caſtle of Dunbritton.

Their rebellion open, And rampant.

The King now reſolves to reduce them by Arms; nominates for Generall the Earle of Arundell, Earle Marſhall, a noble,

The King's army raiſed in England, to quell the rebell-Scots. Earle of Arundell Generall.

noble, and loyall, and knowing Perſon, and of an high-born family, but neither of a warlike diſpoſition nor experience: a Romaniſt, (but not ſo declared) and ſo not over-zealous to ſet up a Liturgy in Scotland, and one, whom Vane had a great and a long intereſt in. And the King appoints the Earle of Eſſex his Lieutenant-Generall, who was no ill ſoldier himſelfe, and valued much among the men of that profeſſion: a man formerly much diſobliged at Court: and of ſuch a naturall confuſed ſpirit, that he was not able to diſcerne the ill conſequences of his indifferency to the Crown. Nor was the Court artificiall enough to make that right uſe of him, which his intereſt among the ſoldiery and his blunt plain Engliſh nature might have bin formed into by a ſeeming confidence in him. And ſome freſh ſmall diſobligements in this expedition made him afterwards ſuſceptible of very ill impreſſions, which he took in this employment: and evidenc'd the ſame, when ſo fatally to himſelfe and the Crown, he received the Commiſſion of being Generall of the rebellious Army raiſed by the long Parliament againſt their Sovereign. The Earle of Holland was made Generall of the Engliſh horſe, a man fitter for a ſhew, than

Earle of Eſſex Lieutenant-Generall.

Earle of Holland.

than a field: he was a younger brother of the Earle of Warwick, (a popular man, and a perſon diſaffected to the Church) and ſo was another Brother, the Earle of Newport, (a very weak and faithleſs perſon) who had likewiſe a command in his Army.

Earle of Newport.

To make up this ſcene the more compleat, Hamilton muſt be a diſtinct Generall both by ſea and land, and with a good fleet muſt block up the Scotch ſeas; and to my knowledge he promiſed ſo to viſit his Country-men on their coaſts, as that they ſhould find little eaſe or ſecurity in their habitations. For he had three good Engliſh Regiments on board him: but the very choiſe of his ſhips ſhewed, he had more mind to make warr upon the King's treaſure, than on his own Country or Country-men: for he had choſen ſome of the ſecond and third rate; whereas the leaſt frigats would have done the greateſt ſervice: thus by the very bulk of his ſhips obliging himſelfe to an inactivity. One might well have expected, that he that had ſo prodigally, as a Commiſſioner, laviſh'd his Majeſtie's honor, and unhing'd the government, would have vigorouſly employed thoſe forces under his command to have reſtored both, and

Hamilton a diſtinct Generall both by ſea and land.

that a man of his importance would have found ſome party ready to have countenanc'd and aſſiſted him: but inſtead thereof, when he comes and anchors in the Frith, his Mother (a violent-ſpirited Lady, and a deep Presbytereſſe) comes on board him; and ſurely ſhe had no hard task to charm him. Afterwards the great ſhips, like the great formidable *logg* let down to be a King, lying ſtill, he had ſeveral viſits from many of the great men, who were moſt active againſt the King; as if he had been rather return'd from an Eaſt-India voyage, than come as a powerfull enemy. And my Lord Southesk began to chaffer with him for ſome of his wares: and asked him what propoſitions he had to make; ſo as they looked on him rather ſuing for a peace, than making a warr. But when the Stork Cromwell was ſent to ſubdue and govern this diſloyall people, his ſhips were lighter, but his armes heavier. He takes in the Frith, afterwards runns up with his ſhips unto Innerneſs, or thoſe parts, and cuts off all communication betwixt the north and ſouth of Scotland; inſomuch as he forced our preſent King Charles the ſecond, afterwards defeated at Worceſter, rather to march into England upon neceſſity than choiſe. Had the

the Marquiſs had the ſame zeal to his Maſter's ſervice, as Cromwel had, he had as fair a deſigne by aiding Marquiſs Huntley, an honorable and truly loyall perſon, who was then raiſing in the North conſiderable forces for his Majeſtie's ſervice. So as that which the Engliſh Navy in Cromwel's time ſtopt; this great Lord might have brought down to his Majeſties aid, if he had pleaſed, or diverted thoſe pretended forces, which Hamilton by his ſluggiſh anchoring in the Frith alleadged he did. For in reality and truth the King's army was more powerfull and better provided by much, than were the Scots in their greateſt body: but where fate hath determined, every thing conſpires to haſten a ruine, and the Engliſh muſt play their parts as faint-heartedly, and probably as falſly, in one great man, as it had in another.

Great faileurs of Hamilton, in point of fidelity and conduct.

and

For the Earle of Holland, the ill-choſen Generall of the Engliſh horſe, was appointed with the flower of that body, to face the Scotch army, whoſe horſe were inconſiderable, and whoſe foot were ill-appointed and very numerous. So as the country being in a good meaſure open, the Engliſh horſe being freſh, vigorous, well-appointed, and in the generality forward to ſerve the King,

in the Earle of Holland.

and maintain the honor of their Nation: he without trying the metall of either ſide makes a retreat, which he was ſure he could have done, when he would, after he had given but a good ruffle to ſome part of the Scotch forces. Thus the Engliſh credit ſunk down, and the Scotch roſe; and Hamilton, leaſt he ſhould appear too much an unactive perſon or faineant, and that he might clear his ſhips of their cramb'd number, had ſent away two of his regiments to ſecure the Holy Iſland, a place of import enough, but not in that conjuncture. Had he ſent all his land-forces to ſtrengthen the King's army with a counſel to have fought his Countrymen, it had ſavoured more of loyalty and courage.

The Pacification. The very abovementioned Memoires ſhew, that he brought on the Pacification; for he propoſed, before he came, that ſome of the Covenanters might attend his Majeſtie in his Camp in order thereunto; yea and that he himſelfe might quit his Navy, and come and attend his Majeſtie. And for all this, Sir Henry Vane, the interloping Secretary, was a moſt proper inſtrument; for thro' his hands all the trifling intelligence, which Hamilton had given to amuſe the King both of his own and the Scots proceedings, had paſſed;

paſſed, and thoſe anſwers, which the King wrote not with his own hand, paſſed Vane's: (who God knows was an ordinary Pen-man) but his letters ſtill had ſome mark of the King's, that in the future they might not be diſown'd. For all which thanks were given to Hamilton for theſe ſervices, by which he had brought the King into a ſeeming neceſſity of this Pacification. All this while, fighting Engliſh-hearted Earle of Eſſex lay unemployed, who would have given a better account of our Horſe, had he commanded them, as did the Earle of Holland; for he with a commanded party marched up, and uninterruptedly garriſon'd Barwick, tho' the Scots lay then at Duns not far off. But our good King being not ſufficiently reſolute to hazard, and ſeeing his affaires thro' no better a medium of light, than thoſe great Officers of his army, which wee have before deſcribed, it is no marvell, after Hamilton was come to the Camp, that the diſhonorable Pacification ſoon enſued. For indeed the King perſonally appearing no more concern'd for his own Regall authority; and being then attended by my Lord Say, Brook, Wharton, and other Presbyterian and Independent ſpirits, who were commanded to attend upon the

perſon of the King in this warr, that they might do no miſchiefe at home in his abſence, they did much more here: for being askt by the King, what they thought of the actions of the Scots, they took a liberty of juſtifying them by not cenſuring them: for they replied, they knew not what they had done. When the King told them, how they had ſeiz'd his caſtles, *&c.* they ſtill replied, that they knew not the conſtitution of that Government; ſo could not judge them. Upon which the King committed them, but that rais'd their credit, more than abated their liberty. Thus we ſee, by what hands the root of this diſhonorable Pacification was planted; and the fruit of it was, that all that Hamilton before, as a Commiſſioner had done, was now confirmed, and a promiſe made, that the Eccleſiaſtical affaires ſhould be determined by the Aſſemblies of the Kirk, and their matters Civil by the Parliament: and then they promiſe in all things to carry themſelves like humble and faithfull ſubjects. And (to ſhew, how little they were like to obſerve their Pacification) tho' they disband the main body of the army, yet they keep their chiefe Commanders in pay; and tho' they render up the Caſtle of Edenborough, yet they

they will not let the King's Commander repair even breaches of the old wall or fortifications: much leſs erect new. Nay to ſhew, what expoſitions they would make of ſome of the Articles, juſt upon his parting, even when he was on horſe-back, they foiſt into the hand of the Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of *his* Majeſtie's Houſhold, (a man then of good affections, tho' afterwards he groſsly fell, but of no greater intellect, than courage) a ſcandalous paper, which ſhewed, how *little* they were like to obſerve their Articles.

Another Parliament in Scotland.

But meeting preſently after in Parliament, where the Earle of Traquair is made the King's Commiſſioner, of whom wee may ſay, he was the moſt verſatile man in Scotland; for I had the honour to know him well, and converſe him often. Under him they attempt no leſs changes in the conſtitution of the Parliament, than they had before in the Regall and Epiſcopall government: for now the former rebellious and contumacious ſpirit ſeems rather heighten'd by ſucceſſes, than abated by condeſcenſions and impolitick conceſſions: and therefore the ancient and uſefull uſage of the Lords of the Articles, who prepared Bills for the Parliament, and which for hundreds of years

years before had bin practiſed, and other ſubverting things of this nature, were to be caſſed and laid aſide: whereby there was impoſed a neceſſity on the King either to have given them their ſwinge for a time, and to have waited for an opportunity to reclaim them, or expect, whether they would invade him, or whether he ſhould forthwith, *with* a more powerfull army, and with ſteddier reſolution than his former, attempt them.

Strafford ſent for into England.

And now, as if the oracle at Delphos had bin to be conſulted, the great Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was to be ſent for; but inſtead of being made a *Dictator*, he is made but one of the *Triumviri:* and the conſult of this great affair cheifly henceforward depends on the Archbiſhop, the Marquiſs, and himſelfe. This wasevidence enough, that Hamilton (as the Memoires paint him out) was eſteemed by his Maſter rather unfortunate than treacherous, and lay undiſcerned to thoſe two great Engliſhmen: elſe ſurely they would never have incorporated with him; ſo as we may ſay, that theſe two had neither well conſulted the ſtate of Scotland, nor that of England. For the Archbiſhop being reingaged, moſt men looked on it again, as

as an Eccleſiaſtick expedition; and Hamilton reimployed, they expected, that in the ſame man would be found the ſame heart; and the Earle of Strafford being freſhly come in, moſt men both envyed his greatnes, and feared his proſperity. The Scots ſeemingly ſtartle at all this, and but ſeemingly; for they knew, whom they had about the King. For Hamilton had got leave to hold intelligence under pretenſe of his Majeſtie's ſervice with ſome of the cheife Covenanters; and the Lord Lowdon among other Commiſſioners coming up with a Petition, upon pretenſe of diverting the ſtorme, (for they had ſent up a Petition, that they might be admitted to petition) which the King replyed was very unneceſſary; ſince every private ſubject had that free leave, much more a kingdom. But here the Commiſſioners inſiſting upon unreaſonable demands, the King expreſt, how unlike it was their intentions were good, when they ſent him ſuch a man, as Lowdon, who at that time had wrote to the King of France under his own hand, (which was produced againſt him) to favour their proceedings. Whereupon he was committed to the Tower: but by Hamilton's artifice and means (in reſpect Lowdon was a Commiſſioner) he was ſoon after freed. Thus

Lowdon, one of the Scotch Commiſſioners, put into the Tower, and ſoon after freed.

Cardinall Richelieu embroyles Scotland.

Thus the wiſe French Cardinall Richelieu embroyles us; and in the mean time made his advantages on Spain and Flanders; which intereſt all that time our King endeavoured equally to ballance. For the Cardinall's Chaplain, a Scotch-man, was known to be often among the Confederates: nay and Hamilton's Chaplain to be often with him and others. The intelligence, which Hamilton by permiſſion of the King held with the Confederates, afterwards roſe to that heighth, that Traquair himſelfe, without naming Hamilton, offered to prove by as good men, as any were in Scotland, how groſsly by one of the Junto his Majeſtie's Councels were betrayed, (if advertiſing them, what the King intended, before the King had made his owne diſpatch, and directing them what to anſwer, were betraying councel.) Herein I was made an inſtrument; but did never name Traquair; but neither Strafford nor the Archbiſhop would entertain the accuſation; becauſe it was propoſed upon no leſs conditions, than that when the great mens names were made known, that would make good this accuſation, Hamilton ſhould be ſequeſtred from the King's perſon, and not lye in his Bedchamber, as he did, when the Lord

Hamilton accuſed for holding intelligence with the Covenaters.

Mackay

Mackay accuſed his Agents. But our two Engliſh great Lords were apprehenſive, that this was but a trick to make a breach between them and Hamilton, by too readily entertaining a jealouſy of him, and therefore rejected it.

Sir Henry Vane made Secretary.

One thing more did really give a diſturbance to Strafford; for the Queen by her too too powerfull influence, upon pretenſe, that old Secretary Cook, ſuperannuated, was grown unactive, had removed him, and brought in Sir Henry Vane to be Secretary, whom Strafford not onely diſtaſted, but deſpiſed, and Vane could never forgive Strafford for taking the title of Raby, which was then his ſeat or habitation, purchaſed from the Crown, and conſequently his ambition; but by deſcent or blood the other had the fairer pretenſe. With this untempered mortar the poor King was to build in a moſt ſtormy ſeaſon; for Vane being now Secretary, and conſequently a Member of the Junto-Councill, and a creature of the Queen's, and a confident both of Marquiſs Hamilton's and of the Earle of Northumberland's, and a man of no clear head, but a buſling ſubtil forward Courtier in affaires of this magnitude: it is no marvell, that when the counſel of the Earle of Strafford mention'd the new-

new-raiſed army in Ireland, as a means to reduce the diſaffected Scots, this undiſtinguiſhing head or negligent hand of the new Secretary, who ought not to have taken notes of diſcourſes, but reſults of Council, applied that to the kingdom of England, which was and could not otherwiſe be applicable ſingly, than unto Scotland, as all the reſt of the Junto upon oath afterwards aſſerted; and yet this was made the great article of treaſon againſt Strafford. So dangerous a thing it is for a Prince, that is not both inwardly reverenced and generally fear'd, to have a body of Council made up of diſagreeing members. To do the Earle of Strafford right, he had as wiſely projected all things for carrying on a warr, as ſo haſty a reſolution could be backt with; but he ſoon found the Scotch proverb true, *Chalk is not ſciſſers*; for if any part of his projection fail'd, the reſt tumbled down. Before he left Ireland, he was warranted to call a Parliament there, and by it he found means, (beſides the ſtanding army of that Kingdom) to raiſe a flying one of about 8000 horſe and foot, that he might awe the Scots; they being to be tranſported upon them, as opportunity or occaſion might be miniſtred. When he came over hither, his

his firſt projection was, to raiſe mony to raiſe an army; and his ſecond, that a Parliament might be called to give mony to maintain this body; for he ſuppoſed all men, well-affection'd unto, and ſenſible of the King or Kingdom's honor, nay of both their ſecurities, when France was perceived abetting a Scotch Rebellion, would be of the like zeal with himſelfe, not conſidering, how many miſaffected Engliſh there were, even in the Court, and that the ſame great men, who miſcarried in the deſigne in a former ſummer, were not like to promote his ſucceſſes in a ſucceeding. So dangerous it is for one great man to take up the loſt game of another. Wee had a fatall experience of it not many years ſince in our Navall engagement with the Dutch; for the Soldiery, at leaſt Commanders, being to be reimployed, they are too likely to be found dividing themſelves into factions.

A new army taiſed in England to march againſt the Scots.

However the deſign being laid open by his Majeſtie in Council, and the Lord Lieutenant on the one hand, and the Lord Traquair on the other haranguing upon it, and expreſſing the injuſtices of the Covenanters, their violations of laws, and ſubverſion of government, with the ill conſequences thereof, even unto this

this Kingdom; (both theſe great men being great Orators, but I was told, the Scot was the more conciſe and ſignificant) the Lords of the Council to give teſtimony of their own duty, and to give examples to others, ſubſcribed every one to lend the King a conſiderable ſumme; the Archbiſhop 10000 *l.* the Keeper as much, and the Duke of Lenox from *the* ſincerity of his nature to his Maſter's ſervice, his ſonſhip to the Church, and his deteſtation of a rebellion, unexpectedly (for he was not beforehand in his fortune) offered 40000 *l.* (which my ſelfe taking notice of to him, and being in ſome good meaſure well acquainted with the poſture of his affairs at Court, I remember, he ſmilingly replyed, *I will ſerve the King in his perſon, tho' I carry but his cloak, as well and as cheerfully, as any in the greateſt truſt:* reflecting on Hamilton) the Lord Lieutenant lent 20000 *l.* the Lord Treaſurer 10000 *l.* and ſo it went thro' the Board, none lending there leſs than 5000 *l.* and the Farmers as conſiderably advance their rents, and many private Officers and Gentlemen brought in their proportions. And indeed the Lord Treaſurer's credit, (the revenue being not anticipated) with all thoſe, ſupplied the place of the preſent

preſent Bankers, whoſe proper appellations were then Brokers, not Bankers, by depending on a juſt repayment, made moſt mens loans eaſy, becauſe the reimburſement was ſuppoſed certaine. And tho' times like a torrent ſoon brake in upon all thoſe, who were well-affected to the King's ſervice and the conſtituted Government; yet moſt of the lenders to this warr were repayed, and thoſe that were unpaid, were repaid by his preſent Majeſtie; which is a cleer evidence, that ſtopping his Exchèquer upon his own debts was no part of his nature, who had opened it for his Father's.

Materialls being now provided, Officers for the army are to be agreed on, and that was principally the province of the Lord Generall, the Earle of Northumberland, and the Earle of Strafford is Lieutenant-Generall; and here they ſtumble at the threſhold; for they agree upon the Lord Viſcount Conway, (a great Confident of the Generalls) a man of Epicurean principles, and a great devourer of books and good cheer, and who lay under ſome reflexion ſince the action at the Iſle of Rhe, to be Generall of the Horſe. The reſt of the choſen military men, as Wilmot, and Goring, and Aſhburnham, and Oneal, *&c.* were merry

Generall Officers.

Lads, and none of them good willers to Strafford, but more the Lord Holland's dependents, a greater man on the Queens side, than his, which made them so froward towards him.

English Parliament in 1640.

And now an Army being levied, and Officers appointed to head them, and some mony raised to maintaine them, and the time come for the English Parliament to meet, his Majestie acquaints them with the present state of his affairs, and gives them the usuall assurances and gracious promises, which are commonly made upon such occasions; and tells them, he expects from them supplies, suitable to the necessities of his engagements and present condition. And here if the Court had bin true to it selfe, this Senate was so well compos'd, that the major part assuredly were well enclined to have made a right understanding betwixt King and Parliament: which was as much the aime of Strafford, as was the satisfaction of his other ambitions at Court.

Dissolution of the Parliament.

But the most active and disaffected Members of this House of Commons, enabled by Vane to affright the more sincere with the Irish army, and with the ill consequences of successes against the Scot, and Vane proposing, the King

King, who was willing to lay down for ever the Crown's claim to ſhip-mony, (which was ſo legally determined in his behalfe) to have no leſs in lieu thereof, than twelve ſubſidies, (tho' it is ſaid, he had Commiſſion to have fallen to ſix, which he us'd not) put a generall dampe amongſt them. However this would not have amounted to a million of mony; and which was afterward an ordinary illegall annuall tax impoſed, by the ſame leading men in this Parliament, in the next Parliament to maintain a rebellion againſt their Prince. So as wee ſee their tendernes proceeded not from the care of the people, but from their ſtubbornes towards, and reſolution to reſtraine and reduce the authority of the Crown. And with theſe artifices it is ſaid, they ſo inclined the major part of the Houſe, that they were ready to addreſs to the King to let fall the Scotch warr, which the Court impatient of, tho' they mett but on the third of Aprill, reſolved to diſſolve them, and on the fourth of May 1640 accordingly they were diſſolved; and ſoon after the Earle of Northumberland upon pretenſe of indiſpoſition of health, (who had Vane more for his Confident, than Strafford, and whoſe credit (had he bin hearty to the

ſervice) would have bin of great uſe, not onely to have tempered, but to have fixed the late Houſe of Parliament) lays down his Generalſhip. Had he done the like for his Admiralſhip, he had ſerv'd the King indeed; for this quitting his Commiſſion was ſo ſudden, that neither the King, who took upon him to be Generaliſſimo, nor the Earle of *Straf*ford, who then in effect would have bin Generall, had ſufficient time (diſpatching here the affairs, that were neceſſary for the army) to get up to them, before the Scotch army were under march, (under pretenſe of delivering a petition to his Majeſtie) and ready to enter into England; nor do they appear to have conſidered, whether in this fermenting ſtate the Lord Conway's zeal would ſufficiently ſteel him (Northumberland being withdrawen) with an Engliſh valour, to beat back the Scots, who now reſolvedly advance, and had ſent to Conway to have leave to come and deliver a petition to his Majeſtie: who replied, they might do it with a few perſons; but upon their approach about Auguſt, he guarding a paſſe at Newborn with a party onely of 3000 foot and 1200 horſe, the reſt of the Engliſh army being with Sir Jacob Aſhley at Newcaſtle: (which

Scots enter England.

(which place to take in was the deſigne of the Scots, and Conway here beaten from his poſt, and Newcaſtle not tenable) the army march back toward York, and Conway with his beaten troops ſoon joyn'd them. He looks not far into the milſtone, that diſcerns not, that an Engliſh confederacy can inſpirit a Scotch army; and that when the Engliſh pleaſe to fight in a field, as they did at Marſtonmoor, when Goring charged that body; or defend a place, as they did at Hereford, when the Scots ſingly attacqued it; or fight a battell, as they did at Dunbarr, in the Scots own country, but they can exerciſe their uſuall and old valour upon that Nation; with whom being now in conjunction and under one Sovereign, it had bin much better, they had both ſtrove to ſhew their loyalties, than their courages upon one another. And now there is no place left for further paraphraſing on this ſubject, but what may be expreſſed by interjections or condolement, or with the Prophet to ſay, *Ah Lord!* for things thus advanced, to ſhew their confederacy, all ſides of the nett are drawne at once, and Petitions from the great Lords of England, from the City of London, from the Scotch Commiſſioners and Army, and from what not, incircle the King at York,

and all for another Parliament, and Straf-ford's wiſdome ſeems amated. For, as a good Hiſtorian ſayes, *Great improſperities deprive a man of halfe his underſtanding at once:* which might appear now, in that he gave way, that this Parliament, which was to quiet a Scotch invaſion, ſhould be held at London, and that he in a confidence of his own innocence, being then the mark ſhott at by all-powerfull envy, ſhould rather chooſe to anſwer for himſelfe in ſuch an Aſſembly, than to endeavour to make more ſteddy unto the King's intereſt the Engliſh army, and to leave that under his Majeſtie's own guidance, and retire himſelfe into Ireland; where he had a competently numerous, well diſciplined, and faithfull army to his Majeſtie's perſon and government and to himſelfe. But henceforward wee are to look upon a new ſcene, and that ſo often varied, that with great Porus the Indian King, then captive to Alexander, wee may ſmile to think, how fraile the felicity of mankind is, or, *quam caduca ſit felicitas humana.*

Treaty at Rippon

The King being at York, called his great Council thither. A Treaty is held at Rippon betwixt the Engliſh Peers and ſome Scotch Commiſſioners: and there a ceſſation of armes is agreed on,

and

and quarters and contributions aſſigned unto both armies: and to ſhew the good intelligence between them, the Scots make new profeſſions of their loyalty to the King, and of their brotherly kindnes to the Engliſh Nation; but withall declare, they will not lay down their armes, untill the reformed Religion was ſetled in both Nations, *i. e.* untill the Church of England was conformed unto the Kirk in Scotland. And this ſeems their province thro' the remainder of this ſtory, as the change of the civill Government ſeems to be left unto their dear confederating Engliſh Brethren. And now both Parties chime for a Parliament. Twelve of our great men, *viz.* the Earles of Bedford, Hartford, Eſſex, Warwick, Mulgrave, Bullingbrook, Briſtol, and the Lord Say, Brook, Pagett, Mandevill, and Lord Edward Howard of Eſcrick, repreſenting the ill ſtate of the Kingdom, had petitioned for a Parliament. The Scots do the like; for wee muſt ſeem to be beholding unto a Scotch army for an Engliſh Parliament; and the City of London are as forward with their petition, as any of the reſt; but the King gave them all one anſwer, that they had defired nothing, but what he had reſolved on before. Whilſt he ſtaid

at York, the Earle of Montroſs, tho' then eminently engaged in the Scotch army, having written a dutifull letter onely unto the King, with generall expreſſions of loyalty and good affection; ſuch faithfull attendants the King had about him, that the ſubſtance of it by one of his Countrymen was ſoon ſent back to Lefley, the Scotch Generall, who challenging Montroſs with holding intelligence with the Enemy, he undauntedly own'd it; asking, who it was, that would reckon the King an Enemy; and with this bravery quaſh'd this charge. How improbable an account of the diſcovery hereof the Memoires give, may be there read.

Scotch Commiſſioners at London.

The King retires to London, and Scotch Commiſſioners are ſent up thither, and they, both by the Parliament and City, are lookt upon as Angells of light; and they frequent the Congregations of the cheife diſſenting Presbyters, who from all quarters of the kingdom flow up to this City: as if they were to convert an unſanctified heathen Nation; and Timothy and Titus are upon all occaſions proved not to have bin Biſhops, as a diſtinct order from Presbyters; and the rites of the Church of no better appellation, than ſuperſtitious; and the bowing at the name of *Jeſus* hath a book written againſt

againſt it with no leſs title, than *Jeſus-worſhip confuted*; ſo as if a Mahometan had heard it cryed in the ſtreets to be ſold, as it was, (as I heard a Gentleman ſay paſſing by) ſurely he might juſtly have thought, this Nation at that time was denying their Saviour.

The third of November 1640, the deplorable and diſmall Parliament mett; and their meeting was evidence enough to ſhew, that thoſe Councils, which ſhould aſſiſt and obey, and which caſt off ſubordination, and will rule and preſcribe laws, are as certain a means to deſtroy a nation, as in the regularity of their conſtitution they are a hopefull means to ſettle it. They had now no reſtraint upon them; and therefore ſoon like a deluge, they overflow and ſweep away all that broke their current. The long Parliament.

The Scotch Commiſſioners and the great pretending Patriots in both Houſes make it their firſt reſolution to accuſe the Earle of Strafford, that ſo wiſe a man might be removed from the King, and all others intimidated. And that they might make way to do it home, (for I would put all this buſines together, tho' I break the ſeries of time) they firſt vote a cloſe Committee, which was oppoſed by divers, and much ſtomackt at by an old Factioner, who The Lord Strafford accuſed. A cloſe Committee.

who was then my Neighbour in Weſtminſter, Sir Peter Haman of Kent; alledging, that was to make the reſt of the Members ſee by other mens eyes. I remember I laught at him, to put him in mind of his own former proceedings: (for he was one of the men, that kept the Speaker in his chair) and I ſaid, *Every Parliament muſt out-pitch the other by a barr.*

Strafford accuſed of high treaſon by the Commons.

This being previous unto the Earle's accuſation, Mr. Pym the next day after the Earle was come to town, (for the Parliament had ſat ſome few dayes before he came) in the name of the Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, and in the name of all the Commons of England, accuſes the Earle unto the Houſe of Lords of high treaſon, ſaying, that within few dayes they would reſort to their Lordſhips with particular Articles; and the buſines was ſo well laid, that the Lords not reflecting, how it might concern themſelves or their own poſterities in the future, upon this generall accuſation put the Earle into a ſtate of a Malefactor, *i. e.* committed him as a priſoner to the Black-Rod, who otherwiſe could have given good bayl or ſecurity for his appearance and anſwering the charge. But this removall is pretended as a right due

due to an accuſation flowing from a Houſe of Commons. Nay the Lords are ſo forward to promote this accuſation, that the Commons prevaile upon them to examine witneſſes upon oath againſt the Earle of Strafford, even before a particular accuſation was brought in againſt him; which is (as hath bin ſaid before) trayling for an hare, or accuſing a man firſt, and then finding particulars to ground it on. And ſince this was an accuſation of high treaſon, it was as tryable by indictment in the inferior Courts, as by impeachment before the Lords; but as there was need of Judges, who could aſſume arbitrary power, and not be queſtioned for it. And indeed in this caſe arbitrary power was highly made uſe of; for the whole cauſe upon the impeachment was heard at length, and articles of ſuperfœtation, or additional articles admitted; and when the witneſſes and their proofs in this caſe were openly read, before the ſworne Judges of the Land, (who onely ſit in that Houſe, as aſſiſtants to the Lords) yet when ſentence was ready to be given, that whole judiciall proceeding was let drop, and a legiſlative one taken up; and upon the Bill of Attainder, which charged this Earle with treaſon, a caſe

Impeached and tryed before the Lords.

Afterwards

attainted by Bill.

was

was framed, not from the proofs and witneſſes of the firſt impeachment, but from the apprehenſions and judgement of the fact, made by the Lords, and the Lords being not tyed to frame a caſe from the proofs made againſt this great man, they had little skill, if they could not form one, that the Judges muſt be neceſſitated to agree was treaſon. And thus what is arbitrary and tyrannicall in a Prince, muſt be accounted legall and formall proceedings in a great Councill; and *Magna Charta* and the Petition of Right, which are bulwarks againſt the Sovereign, muſt be of no ſhelter againſt fellow-ſubjects. Which puts me in mind of (as he called it) a legacy of Sir Robert Holborn's, that loyall and great Lawyer, unto the King, who, when the King was in the Iſle of Wight, a very little time before he was ſeized on, ſent him in a paper this advice, (which paper I had the cuſtody of) that he was ſorry his Majeſtie was in that condition; but for himſelfe, he was at that time dying; and therefore as a laſt legacy he would give his Majeſtie this advice: If ever he came unto an agreement with the two Houſes, that in behalfe of the Crown, and of the ſubjects in generall, he would make it an article, that the two Houſes ſhould

ſhould be as well ſworne to maintaine or ground their proceedings upon or by the laws in being of the Kingdom, until new ones repealed or varied thoſe laws, as the Kings were ſworne unto them at their coronation. Theſe generalls may ſuffice to lead us into this great man's tryall.

Proceeding by impeachment upon ſeverall articles.

The particular articles againſt him were many, and for my deſign too long to be ſet down, and are to be found in thoſe, that write the Hiſtory of that time; which agrees not with my Compendium. But the cheife were theſe:

That as Preſident of the Council in the North, he had ſaid, that ſome of the Juſtices of that Country were all for law: but they ſhould find, that the King's little finger ſhould be heavier, than the loyns of the law: but this proved a pure inverſion of his words; ſhewing, that the little finger of the penall Laws, if preſt on them by the King, would be heavier, than the loyns of the Prerogative.

That in derogation of his Majeſtie's good government, and to diſaffect that People, he had ſaid, Ireland was a conquer'd Nation, and his Majeſtie might do with them, what he pleaſed: and, That the Charters granted unto Dublin

or

or any other Corporation, bound the King no longer, than he pleaſed.

That by a Council of Warr he had paſſed ſentence of death upon the Lord Viſcount Mountnorris, Vicetreaſurer of Ireland. Of how little import theſe laſt charges were, may appear by his anſwer. Indeed in that of Mountnorris's buſines there was much of ſtomack and *tumor*, or perchance indiſcretion, but little of blood. He was further charged,

That he had levied upon the inhabitants of ſeverall towns, and upon other perſons, monies by troops of ſoldiers and force of armes. But all this is proved to have bin no more, than what his Predeceſſors had exerciſed before; and even one of his then Accuſers at the barr, the Earle of Corke, who had bin one of the Juſtices of that Realm, had practiſed. It being onely uſed, when the Iriſh would abſent themſelves from their homes, and not anſwer unto or obey the juſtice and ſentences of the Judiciall Courts.

But to conſummate all, comes in the charge, extracted out of Sir Henry Vane's blotted and blundering paper, which accuſed him to have ſaid,

The fatall, but falſe, article, which tooke away his life.

That the Iriſh army ſhould reduce the Engliſh Nation: which (as hath bin before expreſt) related unto the Scotch Rebells

Rebells onely. And to ſift out this article, (that this Lord might have no ſanctuary any where) the King was moved, and had granted, that even his Junto-Counſellors might be examined about it; and upon the examination the Lord-Treaſurer Juxon, the Lord Northumberland, the Lord Cottington, and the reſt, all upon oath denyed it. And when this was perceived, knowing the other infirmities, which attended this proofe in the way of Vane's ſwearing this article, and that it depended upon a ſingle witnes; yet then (tho' they ſufficiently knew, how apt the major part of the Lords were to condemn him) fearing, there was not proofe enough to lead them to it, they reſolv'd, *quocunque modo rem*; that by one means or other they would be ſure to bring him to his end. And hereupon they declin'd the Impeachment, and fall upon a reſolution of proceeding againſt him by Bill: for by this means they become themſelves as much his Judges, as the Lords: ſo that what the laws in being could not reach unto, *viz.* his life, a new law muſt lay hold on. And thus a man muſt dye for that, which at that time was not capitall: the ill conſequence of which Precedent they knew ſo well, that they were forc'd to ſtigmatize their

their own Bill with a proviſo, that *This judgment ſhould not for the future be drawn any more into example.* And the Lords, who could not in honour condemn him by the laws in being upon the Impeachment before them, were like to be tempted with the honor of having a legiſlative power of ridding themſelves of a man, they ſo little loved, and ſo much feared; and this way would involve the King as deep in the guilt, as either of them. All which led them to make this change in the way of their proceeding againſt him.

Proceeding by Bill.

This Bill had great agitation in the Houſe of Commons, and was much oppos'd; and the tumults without were upon many more prevalent and rhetoricall, than the arguments within. And tho' many Members thereupon withdrew themſelves from the Houſe, that afternoon it was put to the queſtion; (for it was an afternoon's work) yet when it was juſt ready for the queſtion, the Lord Digby gave the account, why he would not give his affirmative thereunto; *Which* (ſays he) *whilſt I was a Proſecutor by law, and others to be Judges, I thought my ſelf bound not to diſcover; but now I am Judge my ſelfe, I am bound to declare, becauſe my diſſatisfactions are grounded upon it. And accord-*

accordingly I here aſſert, that upon the firſt examination of Sir Henry Vane himſelfe in the cloſe Committee, he poſitively ſaid, he could not charge him therewith; and upon a ſecond examination doubtfully repeated it, ſaying to the beſt of his remembrance, he ſaid it not; when at the ſame time unto another article he could affirme he did it: but upon a third examination upon ſight of his own paper or note, pretended to be taken or ſtolen out of his cabinet by his ſon, young Sir Henry Vane, he did affirm, that he heard the Earle of Strafford ſay to the King, Sir, you have an army, you may employ to reduce this Kingdom. Now, ſays the Lord Digby, *conſider, whether any man can proceed upon another man's life upon the difference of one letter*, viz. *whether the word was* here *or* there, this *or* that; *eſpecially on the teſtimony of a Gentleman, who twice before upon oath had denyed the ſame.* But the queſtion being put, the major part of the Houſe of Commons paſſed the Bill; for there were but fifty ſix, who voted againſt it; and the names of theſe were poſted up in many places of London and Weſtminſter, to draw them into obloquy and further danger: of which malignant number I was one. Many artifices and tumults are likewiſe

uſed in and towards the Houſe of Lords to paſſe the ſame; and the King by a ſpeech and letter endeavoured to divert it: but he that ought to command, ſeldom gets any thing, when he is reduced into a condition to ſupplicate. And thus, this great man was proceeded againſt, ſuitable to Mr. Saint-John's argument, not like a beaſt of chaſe, to whom men give law, but like a fox or wolfe, knockt in the head, whereſoever found, or a polcat caught in a trapp laid for him. But when he came to dye, as he charitably forgave all perſons, ſo he prophetically ſaid, *He could not augure well of that Reformation, which was thus laid in blood.* And when the news of his death came unto Cardinal Richelieu, who had had too great an hand in it, he ſaid, *The Engliſh Nation were ſo fooliſh, that they would not let the wiſeſt head among them ſtand upon its own ſhoulders.*

The King induced to ſigne and paſs the Bill: which trouled him ever after.

And now wee may make this further reflexion upon the King's part in this Tragedy, that tho' the Earle himſelfe, by letter unto his Majeſtie, acquitted him of his death, as an action forced upon him, and that ſome Biſhops, who were ſent unto him, (whereof Juxon was one of the number, but not of the opinion) had framed their divinity to the neceſſity, and

and that better *unus quam unitas*, or that one, than the multitude ſhould periſh; yet it is notoriouſly known, how great a weight and diſturbance this ſingle act gave unto the good King, even unto his end. And this may teach Princes, how impolitick it is, when they find themſelves in hazard, to think to divert the danger by not hazarding. Which certainly this King had done, had not falſe Counſellors and Councells ſo prevailed on the Queen's fears, that in reſpect of her ſafety and his Children's, he quitted his own reſolutions. For had the King reſolutely (as he might by all the before mentioned circumſtances reaſonably and conſcientiouſly have done) denyed his aſſent to this Bill, he had never been importuned with thoſe unreaſonable demands, which from day to day the Houſes after made unto him; for every unreaſonable demand, if obtain'd, brings a guilt on the Demander; and every addition of guilt brings with it a fear, and every fear is reſtles, untill the injured perſon be devoyd of all power, either to recover his right, or revenge his injury.

Mad triumphs of the mi led people upon the death of Strafford.

And to ſhew, how mad this whole People were, eſpecially in and about this then bloody and brutiſh City; (London)

in the evening of the day, wherein he was executed, the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, that poſſibly could be expreſt, rann thro' the whole Town and Countries hereabout; and many, that came up to Town on purpoſe to ſee the execution, rode in triumph back, waving their hatts, and with all expreſſions of joy, thro' every Town they went crying, *His head is off, his head is off!* and in many places committing inſolencies upon, and breaking the windows of thoſe perſons, who would not ſolemnize this Feſtival with a bonfire. So ignorant and brutiſh is a multitude.

And now, tho' other matters ſhould more naturally ſucceed, yet becauſe wee may couple theſe two great men together, whoſe fates were alike, (and yet the laſt had the fowler play; for the one dyed by an Act of Parliament, which in tempeſtuous times had bin precedented; but the other by an Ordinance of the two Houſes of Parliament, which in the worſt of times was never found out) wee will now ſett down what befell that reverend Prelate, Archbiſhop Laud.

Archbiſhop Laud's impeachment.

His character hath bin given already; and without all doubt, his deſigne was no more, than to preſerve the Church upon

upon the foundation of Scripturall inſtitutions and Primitive practice: which was the great deſigne of the Reformation of this Church. His error was, (becauſe he found the King by his Father, K. James, fully inſtructed in that knowledge, and carefully warned of the deſignes of the Presbyterians to ſubvert the ſame; and becauſe he himſelfe fixed the King in it; and obſerved in him as much affection as knowledge towards the maintenance thereof) that he conſidered not the unreaſonablenes of the times, and that the jealouſy of too many honeſt and well-minded men had made way for, and promoted the deſignes of the Factious. Not long therefore after the Earle of Strafford's being committed to the Tower, this Prelate upon a generall charge of conſtructive treaſon, or endeavouring to ſubvert the laws and the religion of the Nation, is impeached at the Lords Barr, and committed unto the Black-Rod, and not long after ſent unto the Tower, to cohabit, (but not to keep company) with the Earle of Strafford.

His impriſonment in the Tower.

Being there, that he might ſee, what meaſure of juſtice he was like to meet with, and that the world might ſee the nature of his flagitious crimes, the firſt attack, which was made upon him, was

an accuſation, that he had called unto the High-Commiſſion Court an honourable and a worthy Member of the Houſe of Commons, Sir Robert Howard, ſon to the Earle of Suffolk, for having notoriouſly and ſcandalouſly (in that age, tho' it would not ſeem ſo in ours) lived in a ſtate of adultery and incontinence with the Lady Purbeck, wife to the brother of the late Duke of Buckingham; and for this ſmall ſin Sir Robert was fined five hundred pounds: which fine this good Prelate by the exact juſtice of the Houſe of Commons was ſentenced ſingly to repay; and to ſave the diſtreſs upon his goods, this good man, who before had ſpent much of his eſtate in publick buildings and works, to my knowledge was faine to borrow mony to make this payment.

After this for ſome years he lay quiet, if a man under ſuch an impriſonment, and in ſuch company, and under ſuch guards, with ſuch reflexions, as he muſt needs have, could lye quiet: for I remember, I my ſelf waited on him in the Tower, in order to the payment of this fine: and I found him reading Galen *de uſu partium*, and in a very calme temper, and rejoycing, that ſo learned a man, who was ſo addicted to aſſign all unto nature, ſhould

ſhould, by the admirable ſtructure of a man, be ſo much convinced of the God of nature; and telling him, how glad I was, that in ſuch a ſtorm he could be awake, and have his thoughts ſo pacifick, he replyed to me, *'Twas a naturall effect of dependence upon Providence; but*, ſays he, *that which exerciſes my patience moſt, is, that theſe men force me to be preſent, and joyn with them in their Church-Service; where they dayly maim the Liturgy, as they pleaſe, and where they pray and preach not againſt me onely, but againſt the truth and majeſty of God: but I hope*, ſayes he, *God will ſeaſon me for theſe and all other tryalls.* And in this ſtate he lyes for three or four years, when things not going very proſperouſly with the King, and the Scots lying very heavy upon him, and the whole Party apprehending, as long as he lived, they ſhould make leſs impreſſion on the King towards their intended changes in the Church:

Charged upon his former impeachment.

In the year 1644, they fell upon a formall charge of him upon his firſt impeachment. And to ſay little of the particulars, becauſe they were ſo frivolous, after an eager proſecution of him by Mr. Prynne, (an hot-brain'd and halfe-learned ſchiſmaticall Lawyer) all the charge of his impeachment fell ſo

ſhort, (tho' Mr. Prynne with others, under pretenſe of ſeeking for intelligence from Oxford, being ſent unto him, by the Houſes, ſearcht his pockets, and took away from him even his notes, which he had ſet down in order to his defence againſt their charge; ſo as they were prepoſſeſt of what he meant to defend himſelfe by) that they were forced to quitt that way, and to proceed againſt him by a bare ordinance of the two Houſes of Parliament, which was an unheard-of and never-precedented thing.

The proceedings againſt him by an Ordinance of Parliament.

What this word *Ordinance* ſignified was grown ſo unintelligible, that I could never meet with any, who cleerly could expound it either by good books or authority: but this on all hands was agreed on, that an Ordinance was never of univerſall force, but where the King concurr'd in it; and then it was eſteem'd, as a law is now; and when it paſſed from the two Houſes ſingly, it was onely in Parliament-time, and had no force longer, and never had force or generall influence upon the people, nor further extent, than to the two Houſes. So that it was as much impudence, and impoſition upon mens underſtandings, to have it extended unto any private man's eſtate, as it was injuſtice and cruelty to make it reach

reach unto the decapitation of this reverend and gray Head. And thus wee may ſee, how this body of men, who cry out againſt arbitrary government in a Prince, can, even to blood, remorſleſly execute it by themſelves. And at the paſſing of this Ordinance there were preſent onely ſeaven Lords: the Lord Bruce was ſaid to be of it, but was not ſo: whoſe character I here take occaſion to give.

The character of the Lord Bruce.

He was a Gentleman of very good underſtanding, and of (as I believed) a pious, but timorous and cautious, mind. I having the honor of his neighbourhood and friendſhip in the Country, when he interrogated me upon ſeverall things, which paſſed at Oxford, I took the liberty to ask him, whether he would ſell, as he bought; or give me as free leave to judge of their proceedings, as I found he had curioſity to ſatisfie himſelfe of the true reaſon of ours? I remember, he frankly told me, (and this was a good time before the King's death) that with his preſence, and ſometimes with his vote, he had been too much aſſiſtant unto their councills, who had bin too traiterous unto their Prince; and therefore, ſays he, treat with me, not as a man juſtifying his actions, which I alwayes made as innocent, as I could, by being

being often abſent; (and yet am too guilty of diſloyalty) or as uſefull, as I could unto the King, when preſent, whoſe pardon I ſtand ſo much in need of. I remember, I replyed, My Lord, if theſe be your thoughts concerning his Majeſtie and his cauſe, to whom I know you and your Family owe much, what peace have you within your ſelf for that extraordinary ſentence, where your name is found among ſo few Lords againſt that unfortunate Prelate, Archbiſhop Laud? He bad me believe him in nothing he ſhould ever averr to me, if it were not true, that he was not preſent, nor concurr'd in that vote. And truly the great juſtice he uſed in concealing, and paying unto a Miniſter of State (then baniſhed for his good ſervice and loyalty to the King) Mr. Secretary Nicolas, a Gentleman of good naturall and acquir'd parts, and of an unſhaken loyalty, eminent probity, perfected by a long experience in affairs, and of an indefatigable induſtry, an annuity of 400 *l. per ann.* with a conſiderable arrear, even to his own danger, when he might eaſily have gott it for himſelfe: and the bounty he ſhewed unto others of great quality, as well as to the leſſer of his Majeſtie's Adherents, and the ſteddy piety I obſerved in his whole

Secretary Nicolas.

whole courſe of life, make me (without the leaſt obligation, beſides the honor of his converſation) inſert this paſſage, as being yet ſo much a ſervant to his Family, (tho' ſince his death I have little frequented it) that I heartily rejoyce, he was thus farr innocent of this Prelate's righteous blood.

When ſentence was given upon him, this good Archbiſhop, who was naturally fearfull of a violent death, was ſo aſſiſted by God's grace, that he was modeſtly forward to undergo it; and upon the day of his execution he undauntedly marched to the ſcaffold, tho' he was haunted by two ill ſpirits, Hugh Peters and Sir John Clotworthy, all his way thither; who even upon the ſcaffold (like inſtruments of the great adverſary of mankind) were diſturbing him by inhumane interrogatories, when he had moſt need to have had his thoughts in beſt repoſe. But forgiving them and all the world beſides, with great ſteddines, gravity, and piety, he appear'd to make his own Funerall Sermon with leſs paſſion, than he had in former times made the like for a Friend. His ſpeech is very well worthy the reading, and his moſt Chriſtian deportment, in laying down his life, is moſt worthy the remembring.

Archbiſhop Laud beheaded.

And

And ſo we ſhall leave him, now removed from London, (where he was firſt buried) interred with his faithfull and great Friend, Archbiſhop Juxon, in St. John's Colledge in Oxford: to which they were both very great Benefactors.

And now, tho' we have a temptation to ſett down the diſmall end of the great Maſter of Strafford and Laud, King CHARLES I. becauſe wee might obſerve, how like their fates were, tho' various their judicatures; Strafford having ſuffered by an Act of Parliament, Laud by an Ordinance, and this great and good King by a Vote of the Houſe of Commons, which erected a fictitious High-Court of Juſtice: and to ſhew, how the religion and laws of this land were buried with this good Prince; (who himſelfe remaines rather interr'd, than buried) yet wee will now return to the unparallel'd and rebellious proceedings of the two Houſes of Parliament, and of their dear Brethren, the Scotts, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred forty and one.

The policies of the Long Parliament.

Having begun with theſe two great men, they uſe all the means poſſibly they could to intimidate all thoſe, that were not like to concurr with their deſigns: they diſſeminate diſcourſes, how Popiſhly-affected our Biſhops were; how vitiated

vitiated our Universities; they give the worst characters they can of the Judges; discountenance all the grave Citizens, whom they knew good Subjects unto the King, and good Sons of the Church. They raise new dreadfull appellations of *Malignants* and *Incendiaries*; the well-affected Country-Gentlemen they awe, as subject to be questioned for somewhat by them done, either as Sheriffs in time of Ship-mony, or as Deputy-Lieutenants, whom for some pretended irregular action or other they were like to question. They seek all artifices, by injecting jealousies and fears, and by shewing them a prospect of preferment, at least of the reputation of being great Patriots of their Country. And to draw over unto their Faction the principall Members of the then present Parliament, they stigmatize all the Dependents in Court. And because there were divers Members of the House, who had had their names in illegall Patents, (an exception never in any age taken before, to disable a man from sitting in Parliament) they discard them out of the House, tho' legally chosen unto that service, and new Writs are sent to chooſe others into their places. They are dayly attended by the factious Clergy, whom

whom they freely admitt into their Junćto-Councils; tho' at the ſame time they are deſigning to caſt out the Biſhops out of the Lords Houſe, and any of the Clergy from ſecular affairs; becauſe that profeſſion required the whole man: but they could not part with theſe ſons of Levi, becauſe Dathan and Corah are proper inſtruments to ſeduce the multitude, whom ere long they were to make ſuch vile and ſeditious uſe of. And having thus traduced the Government, they undermined it; knowing, it would be in their power to blow it up, whenever they would give fire to theſe traines of powder. Thus popular changes are not like ſtormes, which ſhake great oakes, and often rend from the body of the tree great arms of it: but like earthquakes, which make a generall concuſſion, and tear up the very root of the tree, together with the very bowells of the earth.

They vote downe ceremonies.

Having thus dealt with perſons, they proceed to things: and every decency in the Church is ſet forth as a ſuperſtition, and every rule of order in the exerciſe of the outward worſhip of God is branded, as an oppreſſion brought upon Chriſtian liberty. In the State the very ancient Courts of Juſtice are repreſented, as the chaines of the ſubject's ſlavery. The

Starr-

Starr-Chamber, which at its first institution was a defence of the Royall Prerogative, and a bulwark for the liberty of the subject against the great mens oppressions, and against such perjuries and frauds, as the ordinary Courts of Justice could not meet with, must now not be reformed, but vacated and pulled down: the want whereof made Judge Hales say openly at an Assize at Cambridge, (as a Gentleman of great quality, who was then on the Bench, assured me) that he believed since the putting down of that Court, there had bin in few years more perjuries and frauds unpunished, than there had bin in an hundred years before. The High-Commission Court, which was erected 1°. Elisab. as a preservative against Popery, and a bridle unto Presbytery and Schism, must undergo the same fate; tho' it was the terror of such scandalous sinners, as then sneakingly (but since barefacedly) have committed incest, adultery, fornication, and blasphemy. Nay the Act for putting of it down must be so drawn, (and then what was the Designer's malice, must be assigned to the providence of the Almighty) that it was pretended, it extinguisht the power of Excommunication; which was one of the great branches

the Starr-Chamber.

High Commission.

branches of the Christian Religion, instituted by Christ himselfe, and exercised by his Apostles. The two President's-Courts, that of Wales, and that of the North, one was cleerly to be put down, and the other to be made useles by inlarging appeals. The Court of Stannaries, which was so ancient a right of the Dukes of Cornwall, now one of *the regalia* of the Crown, and the standing policy of governing the Miners, who wrought that considerable staple commodity of tin, was now questioned and maimed; and the poor toyling tinner exposed to the merciles usurer. And tho' the King quitted much of his Prerogative in his Forrest-laws; yet all they asked must be granted, or no content given: and the Ecclesiasticall Courts were towzed and shaped, as they pleased: and the Earle-Marshall's Court was made so insignificant, as if there needed no distinction of Nobility and Gentry.

the Courts in Wales and in the North.

Stannaries.

Forrests.

Ecclesiasticall Courts.

Earle-Marshall's Court, and hereby,

The Royall prerogative, and jurisdiction of the Crowne.

Thus the suppression of Regall jurisdiction was used, as a means to draw off the reverence due to the Crown and publick authority, and to lodge it all in the popular greatnes of a House of Commons. And indeed they overthrow all Ecclesiasticall and Civil establishments, before they had concerted, how to frame any

any new: or, as Mr. Cromwel (who from a very mean figure of a man in the beginning of this Parliament, roſe to that prodigious greatnes before the end) ſaid to Sir Thomas Chichely and my ſelfe once in the Houſe in the matters concerning Religion: *I can tell you, Sirs, what I would not have; tho' I cannot, what I would.* Thus firſt overturning all ancient and eſtabliſht Government, they project to erect ſuch a Babel for their own ſecurities, as they had not yet ſo much as deſigned.

But to ſecure themſelves, they make great complaints of the diſcontinuance of Parliaments, and ſo bring in a Bill to be aſſured of one once in three years: for if the King failed to make this ſummons, then it ſhould be an incumbent duty in the Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the great Seal: if he failed, then any twelve Peers might ſummon a Parliament: if the Peers neglected this, then the Sheriffs and other Magiſtrates might do it: if they neglected it, the Freeholders had a right of chooſing Members, and thoſe Members upon penalty were to ſerve.

The Triennial Parliament.

Herein the King gratified them, (whereby they ſeem to have arrived at a co-ordination) and they gave four

Four Subſidies for the Army.

entire Subſidies for the reliefe of his Majeſtie's Army in the Northern parts of the Kingdom, which was a cloudy expreſſion to take off the diſhonor of paying the Scotch Army; but they gave nothing to his own coffers.

The Engliſh Officers deſigne to petition the Parliament.

The Parliament is obſerved to be more forward to pay the Scotch, than the Engliſh Army. But whether the *ill* uſage the King ſuffered, or the ſenſe of the Parliament's partiality towards the Scotch Army; (for they had a mind, becauſe the mony and loans upon it came not in all at once, to have preferred the payment of the Scotch before the Engliſh; tho' the mony to them muſt have gone thro' or by the Engliſh quarters) or whether the Officers of the Engliſh Army were conſcious they had hitherto neither conſidered their own, their Prince's, or their Country's honor, in the oppoſition they had given to the Scots upon their firſt march: which certainly aroſe from the Earle of Northumberland's either caſuall ſicknes or reſolved deſerting his command in ſuch a point of time, as gave Strafford no leaſure to caſt things into a new mold; or whether remorſe ſtruck them, upon reflexion on the King's neceſſitated condition, to grant the two Houſes whatever they de-

demanded; or whether the young tampering Favourites on the Queen's ſide, the two Henry's, Percy and Jermin, were trapann'd into the deſigne by the old ſubtle foxes of the Court, (for they upon the diſcovery were fain to fly,) who were moſt probably influenced by the leading men in Parliament; whether theſe or any of theſe motives were the cauſe of it, I know not: but at this time Wilmot, Goring, Oneale, and Aſhburnham, and the reſt of the Officers unadviſedly entertain a diſcourſe to engage the Engliſh Army in a petition; the effect whereof was, that his Majeſtie might be free in his debates; and not neceſſitated to his conceſſions: and ſurely it muſt be unadviſedly, when the Scots had an Army to march in their rear; and that they muſt march towards ſuch a city, as London: and to the diſpleaſure of the thus prevailing two Houſes, ſitting there. But Goring is ſaid to have betrayed them all, as he did; but he ſwore to me, (which was no great aſſurance) that he never revealed it, till he certainly knew, that the chiefe Members of both Houſes were before acquainted with it. But another of the Gang aſſured me, that it was he, that gave opportunity to the ſilly and faithles Earle of

Newport once to ſet thoſe of this Company, who met together on this ſubject, and which ſoon expounded all the reſt: which led me in my own judgment, and I go no further, to beleive, (for our new Stateſmen were well acquainted with the Hiſtory of D'Avila) that plotts were frequently made, at leaſt encouraged, by thoſe, againſt whom they ſeemed to be made: and ſo I quitt this affair.

Proteſtation of the Commons and Lords.

But however it came about, the two Houſes make high uſe of this deſigne; for the Houſe of Commons preſently enter into a Proteſtation, which they firſt take themſelves, and then the Lords take it: whereby they oblige themſelves to maintaine and defend with their lives, power, and eſtate, as far as lawfully they might, the Proteſtant Religion againſt Popery or Innovation, the King's Royall Perſon, the priviledges of Parliament, and the lawfull rights and liberberties of the ſubject: and becauſe they ordered this to be taken by all other men thro' the land, as a ſecurity to them, it is made a branch, that they will defend every perſon, that ſhould take this Proteſtation in whatſoever he ſhould do in the lawfull purſuance of the ſame; and every one was to endeavour to preſerve the union and peace be-

betwixt the King's Majeſtie's kingdoms. And thus Proteſtations and Covenants are introduced in England, as well as Scotland, that the ſubject might not have too great veneration for the oath of Allegiance; but think themſelves tyed as much to the two Houſes, as to the King.

And as if this were not ſufficient to ſecure them, they have one new demand more, (which like Abiſhai's petition to David concerning Saul, asks leave but to give the KING one wound more, becauſe it ſhould be ſuch a one, that there ſhould be no need to ſmite him a ſecond time) and that was, that there might be a Bill paſſed for the continuance of this Parliament, not to be prorogued nor adjourned, but by Act of Parliament: (and hereby they gain a temporary ſhare in the ſoveraignty, as they had before a laſting co-ordination) for without this they alledged, that they ſhould not be able to ſecure the mony they had borrowed for the Army, nor redreſs grievances; and with this Bill paſſed that other Bill which brought the Earle of Strafford to the block.

The Act for not diſſolving this Parliament without their own conſent.

It is impoſſible to think, how ſo intelligent a perſon, as this King was, ſhould

How the King came to paſs this Act.

by any perſwaſions, which certainly were great on the Queen's ſide, or treachery, which certainly was great on the ſide of many of his great Courtiers, be induced thus to diveſt himſelfe of all majeſtie and power; or to be ſo overſeen, as to think, he ſhould avoid danger, by running into the greateſt hazard imaginable. But we may give the former reaſon for it, that wiſdom often quitts a man, when misfortune hath led him into extremities. But notwithſtanding all theſe great failures and after-misfortunes, I think, before wee ſhall end theſe Memoires or Reflexions on theſe times, wee ſhall ſhew, his goodnes and ſincerity were ſo well known unto his ſubjects, and his reputation ſo great among them, that it raiſed ſuch a zeal in them, both in his life to defend him to the utmoſt, and after his death to reſtore his Son, that it may be truly ſaid, living and dead, he was ever moſt dear to his ſubjects in general.

This Houſe of Commons having thus fixt deeply their root, it is no marvel, they raiſe their top to that heighth, that ere long it ſhadowed the Lords Houſe; and by dripping upon them in ſome few years cauſed them to be voted uſeleſs. And indeed that body of men, (who reſem-

reſemble a King, if not in unity, yet in paucity, which at firſt they did) forgetting their own naturall ſtation, when they withdraw themſelves from the Cloth of State and dependence on the Throne, where they are placed to ſupport it, and upon emergent occaſions to skreen the Commons from any ſcorching greatnes of it, if they forget their duty to their Prince, and become popular themſelves, it will not be long, before they be themſelves ſubjected to the Commonalty: for it is not title, but uſefull power, that draws unto itſelfe the reverence of greatnes.

The King, by the neceſſary conſtitution of the government, the Head of the three Eſtates.

And now the Houſe of Commons, who were called onely to conſent, become the ſole Councellors of the land. Such doctrines therefore muſt be now planted, as make a ſubverſion of the old frame of Government; for the King muſt be no longer Head of the Three Eſtates, Lords Spiritual, Temporall, and Commons, or Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty; whoſe diſtinct office is to temper one another, and to beget a right underſtanding betwixt Head and Body, King and Subject in generall: but the King muſt be one of the States, and the Government march under the banners of King, Lords, and Commons; which in one ſenſe is

true, if the King be reckoned as Head of his Three Eſtates; and in another is falſe, if he be made one of them. And thus the Clergy muſt firſt looſe their dignities or baronies, that they might afterwards looſe their lands: and they muſt looſe their ſpecies or order of men: and tho' they be God's immediate ſervants, yet they muſt be as the off-ſcouring of the people, as not worthy to have any perſons repreſent them amongſt thoſe, who repreſent the whole body of ſubjects. For both Lords and Commons have, or at leaſt ought to have, no greater title, than ſubjects; and it is well even for themſelves, at leaſt for their poſterity, that they have no greater pretenſe to the ſoveraignity. For many heads are as unnaturall to a politick, as to a naturall body. Thus this pretenſe was ſo farr from the old conſtitution of the Government, that even the Houſe of Commons themſelves heretofore have prayed, that the Clergy might be preſent by themſelves, or their Procurators, leaſt the Acts of Parliament might be judged deficient.

The Biſhops removed from their ſeats in Parliament.

And now the Biſhops ſeat in Parliament, which was as ancient, as Parliaments themſelves, (and wee may ſay ancienter, for no Saxon Gemotes or Councills ever met

met without them) muſt be taken away; and yet Records ſhew, ſome of them had bin thro' all ages, as good inſtruments for the ſubject's liberty, and procuring even *Magna Charta*, as any of the Commons or ſecular Lords; the true reaſon whereof now was, becauſe they were a body of men, who were not to be practiſed upon tumultuouſly in this conjuncture to innovate in Church or State. A Bill therefore is brought into the Houſe for removing the Biſhops from their ſeats in Parliament; and tho' it was rejected by the Lords, and ſo conſequently could not be reaſſumed in the ſame Seſſion; yet theſe Gentlemen, who ſo much cry up the formes and uſage of Parliament, are no way reſtrained by them, when they curb their own deſires, but revive the ſame Bill, and paſſe it in the ſame Seſſion. But all this muſt be interpreted well in their behalfs, becauſe they are Zealots, and all other men Deſerters of the ſubject's liberty. And it is not long, before it be attempted to overthrow even their Order it ſelfe, which was planted by the Apoſtles, and unqueſtionably had continued in the Church from the Apoſtles time unto this day.

New Petitions muſt come from the City unto that end with ſo great tumults, cry- Petitions and tumults againſt the Biſhops.

crying, *No Bishop, no Bishop*; that as I had my selfe a share in the danger with him, so I saw old Sir John Strangewaies in the Court of Requests so crowded up into a corner by a multitude of people, and so clamoured with this noise, that I truly thought him in danger: and yet when wee both complained of it in the House, tho' averred by severall other Members, and set forth as an awing of Parliament, inconsiderate zeale was their excuse, and no remedy was applyed: and thus they legitimated all lewd attempts and tumults. But this may be truly and justly said for this sacred Order, that since the unwarranted and aspiring greatnes of the Papacy, it hath neither pleased Pope nor Presbyter: for the first hath endeavoured to derive it but from an Ecclesiasticall authority, that he might set up his owne monarchy: and the second, (which is of no longer date than Calvin's time) to introduce his parity has had the same designe. Nor was it safe for the House of Lords to deny the Commons any thing: since new doctrines were broacht, (when the major part of that House could not be prevayled on to concurre in some of their designes) and distinctions must be made betwixt the *major* and *melior* part of the House: so

as

as it is become, *Croſs you loſe, and pile I winn:* for whether they were more or leſs in number, all was to be, as they would have it. And a motion was made by that leading man, Mr. Pym, *That the* major *part of the Houſe of Commons and the* minor *of the Lords might be eſteemed, as an authentick concurrence of both Houſes.*

The jurisdiction of the Houſe of Commons muſt now be ſo extenſive, as not onely in their own Houſe, but to the humble and patient Houſe of Lords meſſages muſt be ſent by the now Lord Hollis, then a Member of the Houſe of Commons, to demand the names of thoſe major part of the Lords, that concurred not with them: and Committees, that in former times were named with great gravity, and confined to ſelect numbers, to the end, that no man might have voices in the reports, that were to be made back from the Committee, but thoſe, who were named of the Committee: (tho' then any Member of the Houſe, tho' not of the Committee, might attend there, and asking leave to ſpeak, give his reaſon, tho' not his vote, for or againſt the buſineſs) are now enlarged, that every one, that comes in, but in the laſt hour of the day, when the heat

The encroachments of the Houſe of Commons.

heat of the ſervice was over, received his peny, and his vote was as ſignificant, as any ones, who had ſteddily attended the ſervice. This facilitated deſignes very much: for ſome might vote in one afternoon at many Committees, when others neceſſarily muſt be fixed at one.

But when Princes grow weake, ſubjects will grow inſolent, and whilſt juriſdictions claſh, the unity of the parts of government, which is the onely band of peace, becomes diſſolved: and the multitude are taught to caſt off all government, upon pretenſe they know not whom to obey. For it fares with politick bodies, as it doth with ſome hypochondriack and melancholy ones, who are alwayes tampering with themſelves, upon occaſion of ſome ſmall or ſuppoſed diſtempers, until they have flung themſelves into a reall diſeaſe. And thus wee ſee, how wiſe a thing it is, for Princes to contain themſelves within their owne bounds, and ſubjects not to go beyond or exceed their old landmarks: for I cannot too often repeat the Hiſtorian Daniel's good obſervation, that *in a mixt Government, when one ſide layes hold on opportunities to violate the right of the other, as it is never juſt, ſo it is ever unfor-*

unfortunate unto the State. But I who intend not to write Annalls, will not follow men ſtep by ſtep in their pernicious deſigns of ſubverting the Regall Government: or ſhew, how they made one thing a ſcale to aſcend unto another; but I will here ſet down the nineteen Propoſitions they ſent unto the King at York, having curſorily and lightly ſet down thoſe ſmaller uſurpations, which bred in them that appetite to theſe greater; which indeed amount unto the modeſt deſire of transferring the ſoveraignity of the Crown to the juriſdiction of the two Houſes: and it is conviction enough, that what they now ask, from the beginning they deſired.

The particulars of which demands were, as follows:

Nineteen Propoſitions, ſent by the Rebell-Weſtminſter Parliament to the King at York.

I. *That all the King's Privy-Council, great Officers, and Miniſters of State, may be put out, excepting ſuch, as the Parliament ſhall approve, and to aſſign them an oath.*

II. *That all affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except ſuch matters, as are transferred by them to the Privy-Council, and to be concluded by the major part of them under their hands: the full number not to exceed*

exceed five and twenty, nor under fifteen; and if any place fall voyd in the intervall of Parliament, then the major part of the Council to chooſe one to be confirmed at the next Seſſion of Parliament.

III. *That all the great Officers of the Kingdom ſhall be choſen with the approbation of Parliament*, &c. *as before ſaid.*

IV. *That the government and the education of the King's Children be directed by Parliament*, &c. ut ſupra.

V. *Their marriages to be treated and concluded by Parliament*, &c.

VI. *That the laws againſt Papiſts, Prieſts, and others be executed without toleration or diſpenſation, except by Parliament.*

VII. *No Popiſh Lord or Peer to have vote in Parliament, and their children to be educated in the Proteſtant faith.*

VIII. *To reforme Church-government, and as the Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

IX. *To ſettle the Militia, as the Parliament hath ordered, and the King to recall all his Declarations publiſht againſt their Ordinances therein.*

X. *All Privy-Counſellors and Judges to take the oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes, which ſhall be made this Parliament:* (ſo to ſwear in preſent unto things in future.)

XI. *All*

XI. *All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their places*, quamdiu benè ſe geſſerint.

XII. *All Members of Parliament put out, during this time, are to be reſtored againe.*

XIII. *The juſtice of Parliament to paſſe upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their cenſure.*

XIV. *The generall pardon to paſſe with exceptions, as the Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

XV. *All forts and caſtles of the Kingdom to be diſpoſed of by Parliament:* ut ſupra.

XVI. *The King to diſcharge all his guards and forces now in being, and not to raiſe any other, but in caſe of actuall rebellion.*

XVII. *The King to enter into a ſtrict alliance with all Reformed States, for their aſſiſtence to recover the rights of his Royall Siſter, and her Princely iſſue to thoſe dignities and dominions, which belong unto them.*

XVIII. *To cleare the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members by Act of Parliament.*

XIX. *No Peer hereafter to be made, ſhall ſitt in Parliament without their conſent.*

Theſe

Theſe articles are thus ſoon ſet down, that the reſt of their traiterous proceedings may be the better underſtood.

The King's journey into Scotland.

The Scots having bin for ſo many months, and for ſo ill ends, with ſo much diſhonor kept in the bowells of this Kingdom, and at laſt diſmiſt with a brotherly kindnes of 300000 *l.* which they had ſcarſely ever ſeen before; at leaſt as being given or paid by England; new reaſons muſt be found for another journey for his Majeſtie to go into Scotland. But before he goes, the Engliſh Lords, (to ſay no more of it) who ſo inopportunely petitioned for a Parliament, leaſt it might riſe in judgment againſt them in future times, muſt be ſecured by Act of Parliament: and the Scotch Treaty, wherein were at leaſt forty diminiſhing laws to the Crown, which paſſed in the late times, muſt at this time be likewiſe confirmed: and accordingly in the month of Auguſt his Majeſtie went into that Kingdom, and made a reſidence there of about three months and upwards; which he onely ſpent in confirming all they had done, and in giving titles of honor unto thoſe, that had moſt demerited of him: amongſt whom the Marquiſs Hamilton was made Duke. But even at this time this great man, that he might ſhew, whom

Marquiſs Hamilton made Duke: ſoon afterwards juſtly reprocht by the King.

whom he had ſerved, and for whom he was held in jealouſy by the King, ſeems to give out, that his Perſon, together with Argile's, was in great danger, which the King highly reſented; but however retracted not the honour, he intended him; but poſſeſt him of the title with his Patent, and reproched him with this action, wherewith he ſeem'd to be much out of countenance.

Another Parliament in Scotland.

The whole fruit of that journey was one ſingle obſervance of the Scots towards the King; for in this Parliament they publiſh and revive a former Act, then in force; (which ſhewed, that by the laws of the land, the Militia there was lodged ſingly in the King) that Act declaring, *That it was deteſtable and damnable treaſon, in the higheſt degree, that could be, for any of the Scotch Nation, conjunctly or ſingly, to levy armes, or any Military forces upon any pretence whatſoever, without the King's commiſſion.* If they had pleaſed, this Act (which they were ſo well knowing of) might have kept them at firſt from their entring into this land; or (they having reminded themſelves thereof) it might at leaſt have ſtopt them (when the fidelity of the ſubjects of England from, that low condition of his being not able to live

in any ſecurity in his own Palace, but forced to quitt London (as one may ſay) in his doublet and hoſe, had made the King able to grapple with thoſe, who had traiterouſly taken up armes) from once again reingaging againſt him. But where ſubjects caſt off thoſe principles or precepts of religion, whereby God obliges them to obedience unto their Prince, no municipall laws are of force to retain them in duty. Nor are theſe worſe Rebells, than thoſe, who entitle themſelves unto the greateſt ſaintſhip. But wee will leave theſe Scots for a time, lurking in their den for a new prey.

His Majeſtie's private, tho' not Privy Counſellors properly ſo called.

Some little time before (for Princes muſt have Counſellors) a new Triumvirat was raiſed; (and the number three beſt reſembles or makes a fictitious one or unity, which two will not do; for in ſuch caſes there muſt be an odd number, and then three is the leaſt, that can be found.) For the King had drawn over unto his Party three eminent Perſons of the Houſe of Commons, who had ſeemed very lukewarme in his intereſt: *viz.* the Lord Viſcount Faulkland, Sir John Culpeper, and Sir Edward Hyde. Theſe for ſome time lay hid, and were not diſcerned; and their advices and pens were moſt uſed upon emergent and important dif-

diſputes betwixt the King and the two Houſes: and they moſt commonly framed ſuch anſwers, as were fit for the King to give in that conjuncture; for they well knew the temper of the Houſe of Commons, and were ſuppoſed to know that of the Nation.

Every one of theſe Perſons had ſome eminency, diſtinct from the other: for the Lord Faulkland had prodigious naturall parts, a memory, and a phanſy, which retained all it read or heard: and then as rhetorically ſet it forth: and his notions were uſefull, and not common: he loved his book, and ſo was a great Maſter of books: but in temper ſomewhat hypochondriack; and therefore men of buſines often found that in him, which they practiſed not themſelves, nor perchance would not, if they could have imitated him. That which crowned all was, that he was a Perſon of great probity and ſincerity. Lord Faulkland. ×

Sir John Culpeper was a man of as great a memory, as the other, and tho not of an equal learning, yet the warmth of his phanſy gave him a very ready elocution. He excelled in making inquiſition after, and diſquiſition into any affair, and whatever could almoſt be ſaid *pro* or *con*, fell within his proſpect. So Sir John Culpeper.

as I have often heard him enumerate the ſeverall opinions of at leaſt halfe a ſcore perſons one after another, and diſtinctly and methodically anſwer every one: but he ſeldome made an entire judgement of the matter in queſtion: for his apprehenſion was commonly better than his reſolution; and he had an eagernes or ferocity, that made him leſs ſociable than his other Collegues; (for his education and converſe in the world had bin in part military) and his temper haſty.

Sir Edward Hyde.

Sir Edward Hyde was of a cheerfull and agreeable converſation, of an extraordinary induſtry and activity, and of a great confidence: which made him ſoon at home at a Court. His naturall parts were very forward and ſound; his learning was very good and competent; and he had a felicity both of tongue and pen; which made him willingly hearkened unto, and much approved; and having ſpent much of his ſtudies in the Law, this made his diſcourſe and writings the more ſignificant; and his language and ſtile were very ſuitable to buſines, if not a little too redundant. So as it was ſuppoſed, tho' there was alwaies a concurrence of the other's two judgments; that it was his pen, that was made moſt uſe of. Hence it was, that his

his Majeſtie's Propoſitions, Meſſages, Replyes, and Declarations were ſo well anſwering unto the rules of the Houſe, and the ſubject matters treated of, and found ſo much better acceptance with the world, than thoſe of the Houſe of Commons. Which for a time was very advantageous to his Majeſtie's ſervice; for *it* drew the curtaine, and made plain the deceitfulnes and unwarrantable deſignes of the Contrivers in Parliament, and the reaſonablenes of his Majeſtie's Propoſitions. But I remember a wiſe Lord, who had great influence on them all, would complain, that their wit and elegancy, as it was very delightfull, ſo it would not long laſt uſefull: ſince conteſts betwixt a King and his Houſes of Parliament could not be ſeparated from ill conſequences and preſſures upon the reſt of the ſubjects in generall in their common courſe of life; and that would beget rather a frowardnes in men to ſee ſuch things treated of with elegancy and ironie, than any delight or complacence; and therefore he was wont to ſay, *Our good Pen will harm Us.* I find Mr. Hobbes hath made a reflexion on this in his late book of the Civill warrs. And when this good Lord perceived, (as in that Declaration at York) where the govern-

ment or the office of the King and that of the three Eſtates was ſet forth by a ſpirit of phanſy and accommodation, as it rather wounded the regality, than convinc'd the refractory, and was not grounded as low, as the law laid it, but ſuited to the lighter learning and diſpoſition of the times, there he would be often wiſhing, rather for a blunt, than too keen a nibb of a pen.

A further account of theſe three great men, employed in the King's affaires and councils.

Theſe excellent Perſons, tho' they were great Maſters of reaſon, yet could not pretend unto experience; and being to pilot a ſhip thro' a tempeſtuous ſea, they had never before voyaged, (for they were to underſtand a Court, a Camp, and a Council-Board, all at once) it is rather to be wondred, they did ſo well, than that they made ſome errors. In this conjuncture it was neceſſity, that drew them into theſe great affairs; but it is the uſuall vein of the Court of England, that it preſerves no ſucceſſion among its Officers; nor gives riſe unto men by gradations from one employment unto a higher; and ſo chooſes its Miniſters of State, ſooner upon ſome affection, and recommendation of a Queen, or Favourite, or great man, than upon the qualification of the Perſon choſen: too often thinking, that the Prince's favour ſupplies his

his Miniſter's reaſon, and that his reaſon will not ſtand in need of experience. But to ſay no more, the experience of theſe latter times hath ſhewed, that this hath bin a coſtly error. Theſe great men being henceforward to come ſometimes upon the ſtage, I thought fit here to make mention of them, that both they and the actions, that went thro' their hands, might in the following ſtory be the better underſtood, as it ſhall hereafter of that eminent man, the Lord Digby, late Earle of Briſtol, whoſe character I reſerve.

And now from Perſons we will again look back to buſines. Irish Rebellion.

Whilſt the King was in Scotland, broke forth that diſmal, inhumane, and bloody rebellion of the Iriſh; for it was not unlikely, but Popery would be projecting her advantages, when Presbytery was making ſuch a harveſt by her diſloyalty both in England and Scotland; and as the old Dragon is moſt powerfull, ſubtile, and malicious, ſo he is alwaies moſt cruel. For theſe men carried their plott with that Jeſuiticall ſecrecy and cruelty, that tho' they were prevented of ſurpriſing Dublin by a meer accident; yet thro' the Country it has bin thought, that in one week they maſſacred very near one

hundred thouſand perſons, men, women, and children. And tho' the King offered unto the two Houſes here, that in perſon he would engage againſt theſe Rebells, and prayed their advice and aſſiſtence, yet they would afford him none; nay they diſputed his power to levy volunteers againſt them; and would be contented with nothing, but the management of this warr by themſelves; and when that was intruſted with them, as the defection both in Scotland and England, and the removal of Strafford, (which ſome wiſe men ſaw before) raiſed the Iriſh hopes to attempt this rebellion; ſo now by precipitate Votes the two Houſes (confiſcating all their lands, and making ſale of them) caſt this whole Nation into ſuch a generall deſpair, that if there were any loyall or innocent among them, (which, we may juſtly fear, were very few) they were forced to take party with thoſe, whom very probably they might abhorr. And tho' this barbarity of the Iriſh could not but be abhorr'd by the worſt of theſe Engliſh-men, yet they were obſerved not to be diſpleaſed, that they had got an opportunity to obtain a Military power and management of a warr by themſelves; and they afterwards made uſe of

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it both in diverting men and mony, raiſed for this ſervice, by employing them in their armies againſt the King here at home. And they inſiſted the more on having the management of this war in their own hands, becauſe they found the great condeſcenſions and conceſſions, which the King had made, were become to very many of the moſt opulent Citiſens in London and other Corporations, and almoſt generally to the Gentry thro' the Kingdom ſo diſſatisfactory, that men were rather troubled, that ſo much had bin granted; than ready to promote thoſe further demands, which lay lurking in the cheife Men of the Houſes, and were manifeſted, when they ſent the King their XIX. Propoſitions before mentioned. For

Upon the King's returne out of Scotland, the City of London's ſplendid entertainment of him, and the diſcourſes, that flew in all parts, of the ample ſatisfaction the King had given, (both which they foreſaw, before it was put in execution) made them prepare ſo foul a Remonſtrance to give the King his firſt entertainment amongſt them, that a blacker libel could not be framed either againſt his Perſon or Government; and it paſſed ſo tumultuouſly two or three nights

The Parliament's Remonſtrance.

nights before the King came to Town, that at three of the clock in the morning, when they voted it, I thought, wee had all ſat in the valley of the ſhadow of death; for wee, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had catcht at each others locks, and ſheathed our ſwords in each others bowels, had not the ſagacity and great calmnes of Mr. Hambden by a ſhort ſpeech prevented it, and led us to deferr our angry debate, untill the next morning. The King's firſt entertainment therefore muſt be the preſenting this libel or Remonſtrance to him, and not long after contrary to his deſire, printing and diſperſing it; and tumultuouſly preſſing both him and the two Houſes with a Bill for the caſting out the Biſhops from their ſeat in Parliament.

The Biſhops Proteſtation.

Againſt which tumults the Biſhops made a formall, but legall Proteſtation, which the Lay-Lords made an occaſion to commit them to the Tower upon: and not onely their places in Parliament, but their very callings are as tumultuouſly invaded; and a Petition brought from the City againſt both root and branch. After this the two Houſes guilt or their ambition made them beleive themſelves no way ſecure, till they had barefacedly demanded the Militia to be intruſted with them-

The two Houſes demand the Militia.

themſelves: for tho' the Government thought the ſword and purſe not ſecure in any one hand, they thought it no immodeſty to demand it; and yet they muſt not be underſtood, as ſubverters of the laws; no, not when the Judges of the land adviſed a Writ to be iſſued forth to diſperſe the tumultuous concourſe about the King's Palace and the two Houſes, muſt theſe tumults be interpreted an illegall proceeding; but the multitude muſt be heartned, and the Magiſtrates diſhonored.

The King accuſeth ſome Members of Parliament of high treaſon.

This flung the King into ſuch a confuſion of council, that in Scotland having learnt the confederacies againſt him, and the intelligence ſome of our great Members had held with the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes, particularly the French, and ſomewhat of the depth of their deſign, he was forced to reſolve to accuſe ſome Members of both Houſes of treaſon; but too late God knows: enough to ſhew, that when Princes will long put off their dangers by unreaſonable conceſſions, they do not divert their hazard, but run into it. And now tho' he reſolves to proceed againſt theſe Members, *viz.* the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Mr. Hambden, Pym, and Stroude, by a due proceſſe in Law,

Law, and accuſes them firſt in the Lords Houſe by his Attorney-Generall, and then in the Houſe of Commons by himſelfe: (both Houſes having ever allowed, that no priviledge of Parliament could by any ſingle Member of either Houſe be pretended unto in the caſe of treaſon, felony, or breach of peace) yet his coming to the lower Houſe, being betrayed by that buſy Stateſwoman, the Counteſs of Carliſle (who had now changed her Gallant from Strafford to Mr. Pym, and was become ſuch a She-Saint, that ſhe frequented their ſermons, and took notes) he loſt the opportunity of ſeizing their perſons, which by a common courſe of law he might much ſafer have done; for they retired into the City, and being within a day or two to be brought back to the Houſes with the London Train'd-Bands, (which was really treaſon for them to march thither without the King's Commiſſion) he was forced with his Queen, (of whoſe perſon he was alwaies more chairy, than of his buſines) to remove to Hampton-Court, and from thence to Dover, to tranſport her with her Daughter, the Lady Mary: (the then Princeſs of Orange) and from thence to come back to Greenwich; where by the fidelity of that

The King's quitting London.

that great and good man, (who once made a great error, but heartily repented of it) the Earle of Hartford, he received his two Sons, and with them retreated towards York: which place he could not have gained, but as the Houſes thought it would conduce more to their victory to fetch him back in triumph, than to ſtop him in his way. So deſpicable his condition appear'd to them; and yet becauſe he was attended by the Lord Digby, and ſome forty or fifty Gentlemen, (a *fit* train for him onely in the highwayes) this was exclaim'd againſt, as levying a warr.

Being arrived at York, and cheerefully entertained by all there, his eminent virtues, his rational knowledge, his temperate courſe of life, his juſt mind, and pious ſoul, was ſo conſpicuous, that he found a loyalty, when he had nothing of majeſty or power to attract any perſons to him. Which nothing but the good and Chriſtian principles of the Church of England could have procured for him; and by the Sons of this Church he was defended to the laſt, and with them his memory is precious to this hour; and whenever for our ~~judgment~~ *punishment* this Church ſhall be overthrown, (which God avert) the ſame principles will make thoſe

The King at York.

thoſe men, or their ſons, as forward to ſuffer for their religion, as ever they were to ſerve and ſuffer with this good Prince. For this Church (or the perſons of it) ſerves Princes in order to their own ſerving God: (which I obſerve not other Sects to do, but for ſecular ends) and therefore I am aſſured, they will quitt their intereſt in this World, rather than thoſe heavenly truths, which they have ſuckt from the breaſt of this good and nurſing Mother, the Church of England; and ſuffer by their Princes, when their wayes are ſuch, as removes from them the occaſion of ſuffering for them; for Religion is not a merchantable commodity.

The laſt ſtage of the King's life.

And now wee are come unto the laſt ſtage of this good Prince's life; and this leads us, tho' not to fathom the depth, yet to diſcern the courſe of divine Providence, which hitherto had led him through ſuch a labyrinth of various fortunes, that knowing his goodnes and Chriſtian patience, I ever expected (and there were often rational hopes to feed that deſire) ſuch a deliverance from God in his behalfe, as he had at other times afforded unto David, by teaching his hands to fight, and giving victory unto his Anointed. But his end, (I ſpeak

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it to my ſhame) as it flung me into great melancholy, ſo it did into ſome diffidence, and was the occaſion to me of attempting an Eſſay about knowing God and a man's ſelfe by the light of reaſon and revelation.

The breaking out of the Civill Warr.

This laſt part of this good King's reign will appear a ſtate of Civill warr, which ſpread it ſelfe preſently like an univerſall fire, and ſeized upon the whole Nation; and was not acted, as the former ſtory was, in one part of the Nation alone, as in Parliament, Whitehall, City, *&c.* but was a conflagration at once, which broke out in every part of the Kingdom: and therefore wee muſt deſcribe and methodize the remainder of this ſtory, in obſerving, how this fire burnt in the four quarters of the land, and, as nigh as wee can, point at the time, as well as the places of the enſuing Tragedies: tho' herein probably, wee ſhall not be exact, and for want of knowledge of thoſe numerous families, or eminent loyall Perſons, engaged herein, wee may omit many, who as well deſerved of the Crown, as thoſe wee have mentioned; but writing from a fraile memory and ſome old ill-digeſted notes, the omiſſion will be rather the Writer's misfortune, than his fault.

The King at York meets with all dutifull addreſs and aſſurances of loyalty.

It was about the beginning of the year 1642, that the King came to York, and here finding both from the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of thoſe Northern parts, a loyall and cheerfull reception, he reflected upon the magazine of armes he had at Hull, and with a ſmall train of Gentlemen, reſolved to go thither, and ſecure them and that town: and tho' he came before it, not in the leaſt hoſtile manner, yet the watchfull two Houſes, who were reſolved on a defection, had preoccupated his deſigne: for they had ſent down Sir John Hotham and his ſon, whoſe eſtates neighboured upon thoſe parts, with Commiſſion to ſeize thoſe armes, and ſecure that place. So as when the King came thither, he refuſed him entrance, and the King was forced to march away, as not provided in the leaſt meaſure to force the place. The news whereof was carryed up by his own ſon, Mr. John Hotham, unto the two Houſes: whom I heard in the Houſe of Commons give the relation of what his Father had done; and he concluded with this, *Thus hath my Father and my ſelfe ſerved you; fall back, fall edge.* And it was but few years, before the edge fell upon both their necks by the ſentence of their new Maſters:

The Hothams refuſe to deliver up Hull to the King.

Maſters: for having fooliſhly managed this affair in the year 1644, when he would have delivered up the Town unto the King, the deſign was known, and both he and his ſon ſeized on; and that which made the edge the ſharper on them both, was, that the Houſes, at leaſt ſome Inſtrument of theirs, dealt very deceitfully with them both, and they very unnaturally with each other; for they were fully perſwaded, that the forfeiture of life would be taken but from one of them; and the Father endeavoured to ſacrifice the Son, and the Son the Father. It came unto the Son's part to ſuffer firſt, and then the Father thought himſelfe ſecure: ſo as even untill he was going to lay down his head upon the block, he expected a reprieve: but when he began to deſpair of that, he was deſirous to have ſpoken ſomewhat more unto the people; but was not permitted: and therefore it might be eaſily judged, in what confuſion of ſpirit he dyed.

The King, thus diſappointed, returns from Hull to York, ſummons the Country unto him, iſſues out his Commiſſion of Array, leavies and armes a few men for his Guard. From York he returns unto Hull, hoping, (being own'd by

The King iſſues out his Commiſſion of Array.

ſo many Noble families, worthily reputed good Patriots and ſound Proteſtants) that Hotham and thoſe in Hull might relent of what they had done in keeping him out; but his forces being not equall unto the ſtrength of that place, and finding their rebellious diſpoſition inflexible, he onely appear'd before it, and retired, and then made a journey into Lincolnſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, and Shropſhire; and advanced as far as Cheſter with thoſe few Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen, which he had with him: (for dayly ſome conſiderable perſons with their train came in unto his ſervice from every County) whereby he might aſſure thoſe parts in their loyalty, and make his Declaration, as he had from York, where he made this following to his Peers, and the Peers made the following Engagement unto him, and ſubſcribed the ſame.

The King's Declaration at York was this.

The King's Declaration at York.

WEE do declare, that we will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known laws, as wee expect, that you ſhould not yeild unto any commands not legally grounded, or impoſed by any other. Wee will defend you all, and all ſuch, as ſhall

refuſe

refuſe any ſuch commands, whether they proceed from any Votes and Orders of both Houſes, or any other way, from all danger whatſoever. Wee will defend the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſh'd by the laws, the lawfull liberties of the ſubjects of England, and the juſt priviledges of all the three Eſtates of Parliament: and ſhall require no further obedience from you, than as wee accordingly ſhall perform the ſame. And wee will not (as is falſly pretended) engage you in any warr againſt the Parliament; except it be for our neceſſary defence againſt ſuch, as do inſolently invade or attempt againſt us and our Adherents.

Upon this Declaration of the King the Peers made the following Promiſe and Engagement, and ſubſcrib'd it with their hands, as follows:

The Lords Addreſs and Engagement to his Majeſtie.

WEE do engage our ſelves not to obey any orders or commands whatſoever, not warranted by the known laws of the land. Wee engage our ſelves to defend your Majeſtie's Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, with your juſt and legall prerogatives, againſt all perſons and power whatſoever. Wee will defend the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land, the lawfull liberties of the ſubjects of England, and the juſt priviledges of your

Majeſtie and both Houſes of Parliament. Laſtly, We engage our ſelves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatſoever concerning the Militia, that hath not the Royall aſſent.

Subſcribed by

Lord Keeper.	L. Willoughby of Eresby.
Duke of Richmond.	L. Rich.
Marquis of Hartford.	L. Charles Howard of Charleton.
Earle of Lindſey.	L. Newark.
E. of Cumberland.	L. Pagett.
E. of Huntington.	L. Chandoys.
E. of Bath.	L. Falconbridge.
E. of Southampton.	L. Paulett.
E. of Dorſett.	L. Lovelace.
E. of Salisbury.	L. Coventry.
E. of Northampton.	L. Savile.
E. of Devonſhire.	L. Mohun.
E. of Briſtol.	L. Dunſmore.
E. of Weſtmorland.	L. Seymour.
E. of Barkſhire.	L. Gray of Ruthen.
E. of Monmouth.	L. Faulkland.
E. of Rivers.	The Comptroller.
E. of Newcaſtle.	Secretary Nicolas.
E. of Dover.	Sir. John Culpeper.
E. of Carnarvan.	Lord chief Juſtice Banks. *&c.*
E. of Newport.	
Lord Mowbray and Matravers.	

But

But Salisbury within few dayes after ſtole away to London.

And this Engagement of his to the Peers, and the Peers to him, the King ſent up to the two Houſes, expecting it might have induced them unto peace. But they were none of thoſe fools, who had the price in their hands, and would not make uſe of it. They diſcerned his weaknes, and were overweening of their own power; and what they had by ſo much craft and violence obtained, they would not now loſe by any religious credulity in their Prince; but the XIX. Propoſitions were now publiſhed: and now they muſt be maintained. Which forced him ſoon after to ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, and yet at the ſame time to ſhew, that the warr was as unnaturall unto him, as it was in it ſelfe, he ſends a new Meſſage by thoſe three eminent Perſons, the Earles of Southampton and Dorſett and Sir John Culpeper: beleiving, that the character of the Earle of Southampton (whom all Parties very much valued and confided in, and who had bin a witnes of his Majeſtie's intentions and councils) would prevaile much more upon them, than any profeſſions he could make by paper; and thus by this great and good man's perſonall appearance

Meſſage ſent from the King to the Parliament, by

the Earle of Southampton,

Earle of Dorſet, and Sir John Culpeper:

but not admitted to deliver it in perſon.

The Parliament refuſeth to treat with the King, but upon diſhonorable conditions.

thought to give them ſatisfaction. But he finds their temper was not altered; for neither Southampton, nor the Earle of Dorſet, (a Gentleman of great parts and elocution) nor Culpeper, (lately an eager Patriot) were ſo much as admitted (tho' all Members of the Houſes) into their places; no nor to deliver, but ſend in their Meſſage; for the Lords, that were gone over to the King, were before this time all impeacht, and the Commons as it were curſt by bell, book, and candle. And it is declared, that the King, ſeduced by evil counſell, had deſerted his Parliament, had ſet up his Standard, and made Proclamations of rebellion againſt ſome of their cheife Members; and now he muſt take down the one, and recall the other, before they can vouchſafe to treat with him. And tho' by a ſecond diſpatch he offered all this, if they would recall their Commiſſion to Eſſex, and the ſeverall Declarations and Impeachments againſt thoſe noble and loyall Perſons, who according to their duties and the laws adhere to him; yet the ſuppoſition of their ſtrength and his weaknes (for all the beaſts dance about the ſick lyon's den) makes them ſo inſolent, as to decline all accommodations. For tho' the King had never charged his two Houſes,

but

but ſome of the prevailing Party in them with this defection towards him; yet he muſt be now ſaid to have put his two Houſes, and conſequently (as they inferr'd) his whole Kingdom out of his protection; tho' their proceedings and the Kingdom's affections made them and that univerſall Body to be very different in opinions: for at that time (ſet aſide the Corporations) the ſeveral Counties were moſt of them declaring for the King, and voluntarily running the hazard of his condition, when it was ſo deſpicable in the eyes of theſe men.

What party appeared for the King, through the four quarters of the Realme.

And that this may appear ſo, for the better method of this affaire, wee ſhall ſet down what intereſt he gained in the Eaſt, Weſt, and South of this kingdom, and that diſtinctly one from another; having in ſome meaſure ſet forth already his reception in the North.

The King's party in the Eaſt.

The Eaſt being an angle of this kingdom, and no throughfare into any other parts, and all as it were empaled and ſhut up by London, their good affections were ſtifled; but like a ſmothering fire, it was now and anon blazing out, but ſoon extinguiſht. So as Middleſex, Kent, Surrey, Suſſex, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Suffolk, were full of good affections, but were kept, as freſh paſtures for the

Parliament: for they were properly and ſingly in their quarters. And tho' the King could no way receive the benefit of their good affections; yet he had divers of the cheife Gentry with him. And of their inclinations their Maſters (the two Houſes) ſo doubted, that, tho' they ſhould have eaſed them in their taxes, as moſt properly belonging to themſelves, more than any other parts, yet knowing, how little they were voluntarily obliged to them, they laid that load upon them, that unto this day they feel the inequality of; and hereof they never eaſed them, even when the whole Kingdom came to be their quarters. Which could ariſe from no other reaſon, but becauſe in the generality they affected not their cauſe. But thus kept, they were a magazine of men, proviſions, and mony thro' the whole conteſt. Their aptitude to riſe, and caſt off this yoak, will be ſhewed in the future progreſs of this warr; and in thoſe deſires and expectations they had of the King's ſending them a body of Horſe to countenance their riſing, and in their attempts even without them, which they ſo inopportunely and fruitleſly made, whereof mention ſhall be made hereafter.

For

For the ſea-coaſts of the Weſt, the great trading towns of Briſtol, Lyme, Falmouth, Plymouth, and Exceter, (the King's navy being now under the command of the two Houſes) their intereſt as well as their inclinations made them Parliamentarians. Onely the Corniſhmen (as old bold Britains) were eminently loyall and Royalliſts, tho' they had ſtrong temptations to the contrary. The inland towns and cities in the Weſt were moſt for the King: the moſt eminent Noblemen and Gentry thro' the Country were firmly loyall to their Prince; and the intereſt of thoſe eminent Members of the Parliament, ſuch as Greenvill, Slanning, Hopton, Stowel, Strangewaies, Rogers, Windham, *&c.* and many more joyning themſelves to the Marquiſs of Hartford, found ſuch a diſpoſition in the generality of the Commons, that when they appeared as Heads for them to reſort unto, thoſe countries (tho' not the great towns) ſeemed much more the King's, than the two Houſes or Rebells part. Weſt.

The South bordered ſo much upon London, that like the Eaſt, they were not much at their own liberty; but it may with modeſty be averred, that if the awe from them could have bin South.

remo-

removed, and the freedom given them of three months ranging themſelves either under a Commander for the King, or in Eſſex's army, the King would have appeared the Governor of the land; tho' the two Houſes were with their Admirall Warwick the Neptunes of the ſea, and of the trade of it, which the Crown may thank the Earle of Northumberland for; who having had the greateſt truſt and honour imaginable put into his hands, he thought it no irreligion, rather to deliver into the hands of the enemies of the King, than into the hands of the King himſelfe who directed him to deliver up the navy unto Sir John Pennington.

The great advantages the two Houſes had over the King.

And this may be eaſily granted, when the conflux of the conſiderable Gentlemen and men of great eſtates to the King's armies appeared ſo cheerfull and ſo numerous in every part; tho' the authority of the two Houſes, (wherewith the people were at that time amated) the riches of the City of London, and the trading Ports, the vaſt number of armes, and magazines of powder, ammunition, and all other habiliments of warr, which they had ſeized on of the King's, and the great zeale of the Presbyterian, Phanatick, and Parliamentarian party,

party, ſupported with the wealth of the King, Queen, and Prince's revenue, and generally the revenue of the Church, throughout all their quarters, and of the confiſcated eſtates of the Nobility and Gentry, gon over to the King, and the heavy taxes laid upon the ſubject in divers ſhapes and diſtinct titles, (as if three groats were leſs than a ſhilling) made their beginnings ſo ſupereminent or outballancing the King's condition.

All theſe and many more oppreſſive wayes, (none of them flowing from a juſt authority, or warrantable by any proceſs of law, being acts of tyranny) lay as impediments to hinder men in theſe parts from ſerving the King; but could not amount to the diſheartning them. For very many conſiderable Gentlemen, nay rich Yeomen, who had never received favour or beneficence from the King, crouded to ſhare with him in his hazards, and left their eſtates at home, that they might follow him abroad: (which ſince hath bin too much forgot.) But becauſe there was in the Army a negligent or diſſolute Party, thoſe out of it, that followed the King upon conſcience of religion and law, were neglected, when there was a great opportunity

The King's party hereby not diſheartned.

nity to have own'd them, and thereby to have own'd loyalty: which being a virtue, like the reſt of the virtues, withers, if not warm'd. Indeed at this time the two Houſes had made themſelves abſolute Soveraigns of the Realm, having ſeiz'd on the Militia, and made their Ordinances (as they call'd them) ſufficient authority to charge the Subject with what mony and contribution they pleaſed: and therefore having thus aſſum'd the ſword and the purſe, the Navy and the Exchequer, as well as all the ſtrong holds and ſea-towns of this trading land; it is no marvell, that at laſt their armes were proſperous. But it was a great marvell, how the King ſometimes came to thoſe fair probabilities of overthrowing them. With this power they not onely impriſon'd, but kept on ſhipboard the cheifeſt Aldermen; ſuch as Garraway, Abdy, and the then Lord Mayor Gurney of the City of London, for refuſing to pay their taxes, which they would have defended themſelves from by appealing to the law.

This was the firſt ſtate or the beginning of this unnatural rebellious warr in this year 1642, after the King had ſett up his ſtandard at Nottingham, and was refuſed

refuſed an equall treaty, and that Eſſex was commiſſioned, and an oath framed, and tendred unto all the Members to live and dye with him.

The Parliament gives a Commiſſion to the Earle of Eſſex, and frames an oath; which was refuſed, particularly by Sir Sidney Mountague.

Which oath, among others, a good Gentleman, Sir Sidney Mountague, Father of the late Earle of Sandwich, would not take: for he ſaid, *he would not ſwear to live with him, becauſe he was an old man, and might dye before him; nor would he ſwear to dye with him, ſince the Earle was going with an army againſt the King, which he did not know, how to free from treaſon; and ſo he did not know what end that great man might come to.* But for this reflexion he was preſently voted to be diſmembred, and another choſen into his place, to ſerve as Knight for Huntingtonſhire.

Digreſſion about the family of Mountague.

This family of the Mountagues was a noble worthy family, and of a leading conſideration in Northamptonſhire. It had ſix Brothers, four remarkable for ſeverall qualifications. The eldeſt Brother was the Lord Mountague of Boughton, a man of a plain downright Engliſh ſpirit, *viz.* of a ſteddy courage, of a devout heart, and a true Son of the Church of England; yet ſo ſevere and regular in his life, that he was by the

L. Mountague of Boughton.

moſt

moſt reckoned amongſt the Puritans; and yet ſo ſteddy he was to the Liturgy of the Church of England, that when he had married his eldeſt Son unto Secretary Winwood's eldeſt Daughter, who affected not the Common Prayer, which he uſed twice dayly in his Houſe, he would ſay to her, *Daughter, if you come to viſit me, I will never ask, why you come not to Prayers; but if you come to cohabit with me, pray with me, or not live with me.* He liv'd amongſt his Neighbours with great hoſpitality, and no man was more knowing in the Country-affaires; (whether it was in relation to the King's ſervice, or the common adminiſtration of juſtice, as at the Aſſizes, and ſuch other meetings) than he was. He was a great Benefactor unto the town of Northampton, and bore ſuch ſway there, that he turned every thing at his beck, and the multitude or vulgars flockt about him, when he came to town, as if he had bin their topicall Deity. In Parliament he was never froward to the Court, nor forward to flatter it; but was obſerved alwayes to countenance the eſtabliſht laws, rather than to be apt to make new changes, whether in Church or State; and after he had waited once or twice upon the King at Whitehall, they

they ſaw him there no more. This was the common courſe of his life. The ſecond Brother was Biſhop Mountague, who was a very reverend and learned Prelate, and dyed Biſhop of Wincheſter, being in great eſteem with King James. The third was the Earle of Mancheſter, who profeſſed the common law, and from Recorder of London, came to be Lord cheife Juſtice of the King's Bench, afterwards Lord Treaſurer of England, where he continued but a ſhort time; then was made Preſident of the Councill of State, (for he and Chancellor Bacon were put out of their places together,) and at laſt dyed Lord Privy-Seal. He was a man deeply learned in his profeſſion; he never warped from the intereſt of the Crown, which he underſtood, and was wont to ſay, *The popular humor of lopping its prerogative would endanger the whole body of the Nation*; and he would often bewaile, (as he hath done to my ſelfe) that his ſon Kimbolton was ſo buſily engaged in a popular Party, even at that time, (which was in the year 1640) when his Son's ſingle intereſt defended him from that impotency, which run thro' his whole life, of refuſing nothing, that was given him. The youngeſt Brother was this Sir Sidney Mount-

Biſhop Mountague.

Earle of Mancheſter.

Sir Sidney Mountague.

Mountague, who was a Maſter of Requeſt, and whoſe character wee have already ſett down; and of him wee have told a ſtory, which I am too frequent in, if I had any other chiefe deſigne, than calling to my own mind, the things, that paſſed in my own time. And from hence it is I borrow the liberty of telling another ſtory of the eldeſt Brother.

This good Lord, when our troubles new broke forth was very aged: but being Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonſhire, the King, when he was at York, had ſent him his Commiſſion of Array, and he readily acknowledged the authority, and was putting it in execution. But Northampton being nigher London, than York, and thoſe at London being much troubled, that a man of reputation, and againſt whom they had not the leaſt thing to charge, ſhould influence thoſe Countries, they ſent a party of Horſe for him, to bring him up a priſoner; (and this was juſt about the time, when the Earle of Eſſex was marching out with his *glorious army* againſt the King. This good Lord mett this great Generall about Barnett, upon the highway, and the Lord of Eſſex ſtopt his coach, intending to go and ſalute him; but as ſoon as my Lord Mountague heard of it, he commanded his

his Coachman to drive away, and ſaid, *this was not a time for complements:* which was a true piece of Engliſh bravery and loyalty; and ſo diſappointed the Generall's civility, and might have converted him to his loyalty, if he had well reflected on it. And one thing more I muſt obſerve of him in this journey, to ſhew the baſenes of vulgar ſpirits, and the madnes of a multitude; that when his coach was driven thro' the town of Northampton, and he having an old Maid in the coach with him, who ſerv'd him in the nature of a Nurſe, the Phanatick populacy even in that town followed his coach, reviling him as a Malignant, and declaiming againſt him and his Female in the uſuall phraſes, which fill ſuch mouths on ſuch occaſions. And that the end might be like the beginning and middle of his journey, when he came to London, and was brought before the Committee of State, he aſſerting the legality of his obedience to his Majeſtie, they (complementing his former courſe of life, as an eminent Patriot, tho' now defected) told him, they muſt now retayn him a Priſoner, but it ſhould be in his own Daughter's houſe, the Counteſs of Rutland; which he utterly refuſed; and ſaid, *If he deſerv'd to be a Priſoner,*

he deserv'd to be sent to a Prison; and in conclusion, would not be sent unto her house, (for she was busy in the Parliament-cause, and so her house was irksome to him) untill the Warrant named her house his prison, which the Lady was much disgruntled at. I put great value upon such a mind, as this; and therefore I had no mind to discard this story from these immethodicall reflexions, which I make upon these broken times; since they are so good discoveries of what so good men, as this was, thought of the King's person and cause.

Prince Rupert. About this time, anno 1642, comes to Notttingham that brave Prince and hopefull souldier, Rupert, together with his brother, Prince Maurice. He found there a very thin and small army, and the Foot very meanly armed; and understanding in what forwardnes, and in what great numbers, and how well armed, Essex was advancing upon the King, advice is taken to retreat back to Shrewsbury, where in a little time new supplies coming out of Wales and other parts, this Prince, who (tho' a young man) had in martiall affairs some experience and good skill, and who was of such intrepid courage and activity, as

that

that clean contrary to former practice, when the King had great armies, but no Commanders forward to fight, he ſo ſoon ranged and diſciplined this ſmall body of men, that engaging a good party of the Earle of Eſſex's under the command of Colonel Sandys near to the City of Worceſter after a ſharp diſpute, he there in perſon got a clear victory; and the terror of that contributed very much unto that eaſy one, over the Parliament's Horſe, which not many weeks after he gain'd at Edge-hill. Of ſo great virtue is the perſonall courage and example of one great Commander. And indeed (to do him right) he put that ſpirit into the King's army, that all men ſeem'd reſolved: and had he bin as cautious, as he was a forward Fighter, and a knowing Perſon in all parts of a Soldier, he had moſt probably bin a very fortunate one. He ſhewed a great and exemplary temperance, which fitted him to undergo the fatigue of a warr; ſo as he deſerv'd the character of a Soldier; *Il eſtoit tousjours Soldat:* for he was not negligent by indulgences to his pleaſures, or apt to loſe his advantages: yet his eagernes to fight, and that with a well-armed Army, who afterwards grew to be well diſciplined, turned to prejudice. And a

little ſharpnes of temper of body, and uncommunicablenes in ſociety or council, (by ſeeming with a piſh to neglect all another ſaid, and he approved not) made him leſs grateful, than his friends wiſhed; and this humor ſowred him towards the Counſellors of Civill affairs, who were neceſſarily to intermix with him in Martiall councills. And theſe great men often diſtruſted ſuch downright ſoldiers, as the Prince was, tho' a Prince of the blood, leſt he ſhould be too apt to prolong the warr; and to obtain that by a pure victory, which they wiſhed to be got by a dutifull ſubmiſſion upon modeſt, ſpeedy, and peaceable terms, or by Addreſſes of the two Houſes to the King. And indeed had the Prince ſtudied more to have removed this jealouſy, or the King more vigorouſly interpoſed therein, and bin Maſter of both Parties, his armes had probably bin much more proſperous, than they were; but neither of them ſtood in awe of him; and ſo the conſequence was fatall.

Edge-hill fight.

Generall Officers and Commanders.

Earle of Lindſey.

It was not long after he had obtained this victory upon Sandys, that he fought that great battell at Edge-hill, where the noble Earle of Lindſey, (a man of undaunted courage, and of a good experience in ſoldiery; for he and the Earle of

of Eſſex had bin Camerades and Commanders in foreign warrs, tho' they were now Generalls of oppoſite armies) was made a Generall, the King being Generaliſſimo himſelfe; the old Generall Ruthen, a Scot, an experienc'd Commander, and a man of a naturall courage, and purely a ſoldier, and of a moſt loyall heart, (which he had many occaſions to ſhew, before the warr was ended, and which his Country-men remembred; for they uſed both him and his Widow, a Swediſh Lady, with all extremity afterwards) was Adjutant in the command of the Horſe; and Sir Jacob Aſhly (who in every thing deſerves Ruthen's character) was Major-Generall of the Army under the Earle of Lindſey; who, before the charge at the battell at Edgehill, made a moſt excellent, pious, ſhort, and ſoldierly prayer: for he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, ſaying, *O Lord! thou knoweſt, how buſy I muſt be this day: if I forget thee, do not thou forget me.* And with that, roſe up, crying out, *March on Boys!* for the King had given order, that untill the enemy ſhould firſt have ſhot their cannon at our body of men, ours ſhould not engage. In this battell Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the Horſe, and the

Ruthen.

Aſhly.

Lord Wilmott the left; and the Lord Digby commanded one reserve of Horse, and the Lord Byron the other.

Faults in the management of the battell at Edge-hill.

But as if a fate had attended all we did, tho' Prince Rupert entirely routed the left wing of Essex's Horse, which being perceived, Wilmott had very little to do with the right: (for he that marks Wilmott's whole progress thro' this warr, shall find him much affected to be an umpire of peace; which had bin well done, if he had quitted the King's army, and gone into his Council, than a decider of the contest by the sword; tho' the Gentleman wanted no courage nor experience, nor, I hope, loyalty) but both reserves pursuing the chase, contrary to all discipline of warr, left the King and his Foot so alone, that it gave Essex a title unto the victory of that day; which might have bin his last day, if they had done their parts, and stood their ground. And it was the more strange, that the reserves would thus precipitately engage themselves, when they saw the King had given leave unto his own Volunteer-Guard of Noblemen and Gentlemen, who with their attendance made two such Troops, as that they consisted of about three hundred Horse: for a vanity had possest that Troop, (upon a little pro-

provocation, or for a word of diſtaſte the day before, or being called, *The Troop of Shew*) to deſire this honour of being engaged in the firſt charge; and I had the honour to be of the number, and to be one of the moſt inconſiderable Perſons of it; and when wee valued the eſtates of the whole troop, wee reckoned there was 100000 *l. per ann.* in that Body, ſtak'd that day in that engagement againſt men of very diſproportionable quality.

This was our firſt and great military miſadventure; for Eſſex by his reſerves of Horſe falling on the King's Foot, preſt on them ſo hard, that had not ſome of our Horſe returned in ſome ſeaſon unto the reliefe of our foot, wee had certainly loſt the day, which all circumſtances conſidered, wee as certainly wonn. But the next day gave us the aſſurance of our victory: for the evening parting us, wee found the Lord of Eſſex was retreated with his army into Warwick town and caſtle: and wee advanced to the town of Banbury, which with its caſtle was garriſoned; and tho' Warwick was very nigh Banbury, yet wee took in the town and caſtle, and made priſoners the regiment quartered there; and ſo the King marched to Oxford,

Banbury and Warwick taken.

which he garriſoned. Whilſt he refreſht his men, Eſſex ſtole by other roads as many of his army to London, as he could; and the King upon this reputation haſted to be there by ſuch marches as might not wear out his ſoldiers; and he advanced as far as Colebrooke, within fifteen miles of the City, and there he is mett by ſome Lords and Commiſſioners with a Meſſage from the two Houſes, beſeeching him to keep himſelfe and army at ſome diſtance from the City, that Commiſſioners might attend him in order unto a Treaty of peace; which he offered to do, in caſe the two Houſes would render him his Palace at Windſor: for it was no more than an houſe of magnificence, being of no or little ſtrength, tho' it was called a caſtle, and then garriſoned by the Parliament-Party. But the Commiſſioners had no ſuch authority, nor would own ſo much the reaſonablenes of this propoſition, as to carry it by one or two of themſelves: ſo as Mr. White, the Earle of Dorſett's Secretary, was ſent away with that meſſage; but when he came to London, he was ill treated, and carried in, like a common Drummer or Trumpetter, blindfolded, to animate the Volunteers, (whom they were at that very time arming

The King marcheth up to London after Eſſex.

Offers of a Treaty at Colebrooke.

arming forth under the Earle of Warwick in great numbers, and to ſtrengthen the Earle of Eſſex's lately diſheartned army, who lay at Turnham-green, betwixt Hammerſmith and Brentford) and to diſcredit his Majeſtie's Meſſage, and chill the fervor of his party.

Here our lukewarm temper, or what the French call *entre-deux*, wounded us again; for the King and the Counſellors about him affecting *iniquiſſimam pacem*, &c. the worſt conditions of peace, before the moſt proſperous warr; ſpent about halfe a day with theſe Commiſſioners, whom had he immediately return'd (tho' he had uſed them as friendly and kindly as he did) with that meſſage he ſent by Mr. White, it would have given the Houſes a fair propoſition to have conſidered of, and caſt the numerous part of the City into leſs deſpair, and given unto his owne Party therein an heartning and a ſubject matter to have promoted. All which the ill and ſcornfull uſage of the King's Meſſenger quaſht. But reſolute Prince Rupert, advancing as far as Brentford, found a ſtrong houſe on the road, which then belong'd unto Sir Richard Gwynn, well mann'd, which gave him ſome ſhort ſtop, before he clear'd it; and Brentford was mann'd by

by Denzil Hollis's full regiment, who made him a ſharp diſpute for ſome hours, before he took in that town, where he cut off or took priſoners all, that defended it. Thus this day was ſpent, and the Earle of Eſſex, who lay within two miles of it, came not up to its reliefe: becauſe Warwick was not come up to him. The King lay that night at Hounſlow, ſome three miles off, with the body of the army; where (if Eſſex had pleaſed the next day) there was a large fair heath for the two armies to have tryed once again their courage and fortunes. But he being thus recruited, and the two Houſes and City making no further addreſs, and proviſions for the King's army's longer ſtay there being wanting, about the middle of the day he marched off towards a ſummer-houſe of his own at Oatlands, betwixt Windſor and Hampton-Court, where there were ſtill fair heaths for the two armies to have engaged, if the Parliament-forces would have made the adventure; and he lay there about two dayes, and then retreated unto the town of Reading, which he made a garriſon, and ſo back to winter at Oxford.

Hereford-ſhire.

Commanders in the North for the King.

What good affections and promptitude to maintaine the King's juſt rights, and to

to deliver him from the perſecution of his two Houſes, his Majeſtie left in the North, wee have already ſett down. To keep up the fervor in thoſe places, two eminent Lords; the Earle of Cumberland and the Earle of Newcaſtle, were left behind. The firſt had his reſidence at York, the other was leavying freſh men in Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmorland, and Durham, and ſo onwards; who having raiſed a good and conſiderable Army, diſperſt young Hotham with the Parliament-forces, which ſought to impede his march, and came up to York, where the Earle of Cumberland (who had bin no wayes equally active to what was expected of him; for he was a moſt loyall and honourable Perſon, even unto his death, unto the King) layd down his charge: for his Genius was not military. The Earle of Newcaſtle took the whole command upon him, and made his head-quarters at York.

Earle of Cumberland.

Earle of Newcaſtle.

He was a Gentleman of grandeur, generoſity, loyalty, and ſteddy and forward courage; but his edge had too much of the razor in it: for he had a tincture of a Romantick ſpirit, and had the misfortune to have ſomewhat of the Poet in him; ſo as he choſe Sir William Davenant, an eminent good Poet, and loyall

His character.

loyall Gentleman, to be Lieutenant-Generall of his Ordnance. This inclination of his own and such kind of witty society (to be modest in the expressions of it) diverted many counsels, and lost many opportunities; which the nature of that affair, this great man had now entred into, required. The Parliament-party in the North was chiefly upheld by the Lord Fairfax, and his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Hugh Cholmley, and Captain Hotham; and tho' this great Lord gave those forces a defeat at Tadcaster, yet they often endangered his dispersst quarters, and got some credit by it; for his army, tho' considerable, was soon weakned by a false policy; for he endeavoured to raise the reputation of it by multiplying his Commissions for new regiments, troops, and companies, for which they received some advance-mony, and quarters assign'd to them for their men; which they scarse ever raised in such a number, as to embody; and yet in such a number, as did harrass and impoverish the country, and lying with their few men scattered and thinn, were often surprised, and then the enemy had the reputation to have defeated a regiment, where there was perchance but halfe a company or troop.

And

And this, I believe, was a very great wound to him from the first; for had he recruited his first or old troops and companies, and not thus loosly aimed at new, his army would have bin more powerfull, tho' nominally less numerous, and could have lain closer together; and so consequently have bin stronger in it selfe, and more active upon the enemy. But ere long his army grew very considerable; for Colonel Goring landed at Newcastle with 200 Commanders and some armes from Holland; and Generall King not long after landed there likewise, and brought him 6000 armes, and the Queen presently after landed at Burlington-Bay with good provision of armes, ordnance, and ammunition, and was by the Earle of Newcastle conveyed to York; and she had so influenced Sir Hugh Cholmley, who commanded the port of Scarborough for the Parliament, and old Sir John Hotham and his son, who commanded Hull, that important garrison; that had she bin as successfull in the last, as she was in the first, the whole North had bin cleared, and that undoubtedly would have turn'd the scale upon the South, and restored his Majestie unto his just rights, the people unto their true liberties, and the nation

unto

unto its former profound peace. But Hotham's timorous temper betrayed himselfe and the design. The Queen marches up to Oxford, and the King mett her at Edge-hill, where were all the demonstrations of affection and joy imaginable.

The King's affaires in 1643, in the North and West.

Hopton.

Stamford.

This was in the year 1643, when the King in this good condition both in the North and West was prosperous; Sir Ralph Hopton having in the West about the same time defeated the Parliament-forces, who lay about Plymouth under the command of the Earle of Stamford. However, the King sent unto the two Houses to treat of a peace; upon which errand came to Oxford the Earle of Northumberland, Mr. Peirpoint, &c. But the propositions were nigh as unreasonable and haughty, as the former; so as the King not complying, they are by their Masters called back, and the warr goes on. Essex marches up towards Oxford, and then retreats, and sets down before Reading, a long and irregular town to be fortified, and required more men to defend it, than were then in it; and tho' the King hasted to its releif, and was near it, and engaged with some of the out-forces, which blocked it up, and beat them off;

yet

yet the Governor Colonel Fielding, even in that instant, loosly rendred it upon conditions of marching out with armes, bag, and baggage; and was questioned for his life, but not executed, which made some discontents at Oxford. Fielding.

A sicknes at this time had seized upon the Earle of Essex's army; so that considerable man Colonel Hambden, with Colonel Sheffeild, was about Chinner, leavying recruits for that army in Oxfordshire towards Tame. Prince Rupert with a strong party drawn out of Oxford, being advertised of it by Colonel Hurry a Scott, defeated them there in Chalgrove-feild, which was the very place, where Mr. Hambden had first put in execution the first Parliament-Commission for the Militia against the King's authority. Hambden himselfe was retreated with a small party into a little field very near the place of engagement: a small party of the Princes perceiving that little body so at distance, briskly charged them, having not the least knowledge that M. Hambden was among them. Here he received an hurt in the shoulder, whereof in three or four dayes after he dyed; for his blood in its temper was acrimonious, as the scurfe commonly on his face shewed. Hambden.

He

His character. He was certainly a perſon of the greateſt abilities of any of that Party. He had a great knowledge both in Scholarſhip and in the Law. He was of a conciſe and ſignificant language, and the mildeſt, yet ſubtilleſt, ſpeaker of any man in the Houſe; and had a dexterity, when a queſtion was going to be put, which agreed not with his ſenſe, to draw it over to it, by adding ſome equivocall or ſly word, which would enervate the meaning of it, as firſt put. He was very well read in hiſtory; and I remember the firſt time I ever ſaw that of D'Avila of the Civil Warrs of France, it was lent me under the title of Mr. Hambden's *Vade mecum*; and I beleive no copy was liker an originall, than that rebellion was like ours. He was a man of a great and plentifull eſtate, and of great intereſt in his country, and of a regular life; and tho' he took upon him but the title of a Colonel, (for he had greater intereſt to raiſe the men, than aptitude to range or fight them) yet he thus dyed (as is before expreſt) in a martiall engagement. The news whereof (he being ſo eminent a man) ſoon came to Oxford by a tenant of Dr. Giles's, who was Parſon of Chinner, not far from the place where the engagement was; who accidentally meeting

meeting me, first told it unto me, and I brought him unto the King. The Doctor was a near neighbour and friend of Mr. Hambden's, and being an opulent man, he had built himselfe a very good Parsonage-house, in the contrivance of which structure Mr. Hambden had used his skill. The King required the Doctor, as from himselfe, to send to see him; for I found the King would have sent him over any Chirurgeon of his, if any had bin wanting; for he lookt upon his interest, if he could gain his affection, as a powerfull means of begetting a right understanding betwixt him and his two Houses. I remember, how the Doctor regretted the King's command; for, sayes he, I have seemed unlucky to him in severall conjunctures of time, when I made addresses to him in my own behalfe: for he having bin formerly so kindly my friend, before I came to Oxford, wee the Prebendaries of Windsor being all turn'd out of our houses, in the carrying off of my goods, my wagons were robbed and plundered, tho' warranted by passport; and I addressing to him for releife, my messenger came in that very instant, in which the news of his eldest son's death came to him; and some good time after falling into a like

R cala-

calamity, tho' I failed of the fruit of his intended releife the first time, yet I hoped to have found it the second; but my messenger unfortunately met then with another, that brought the news of his beloved daughter, Mrs. Knightley's death; so I seem'd to scritch-owl him. However the Doctor sent, and when he heard of a message from him, this poor Gentleman, tho' he was in an high fever, and not very sensible, was much amated at it. These little stories I put down, because the discovery of great men's natures are often lively expositions of their great counsels: history being but a reduction of moralls into examples. It was usually said, that he had more ambition to have bin the Prince's Governor, than any greater place: for aiming at the alteration of some parts of the Government, (for at first probably it amounted not unto a design of a total new form) he knew of how great a consequence it would be, that a young Prince should have principles suitable to what should be establisht as lawes.

The Author sent by the King into the North to the Earle of Newcastle.

The King finding by these experiences in the South, how tough the busines was like to prove, sent me some time before into the North to the Earle of Newcastle. My commission was, (for

(for I had but three or four words under the King's hand, written in a piece of white ſarſenet, to give me credit with him) to try, what he meant to do with his Army; and whether with a good part of it he would (when the ſeaſon was) march up ſoutherly, and in a diſtinct body keep at ſome diſtance from the King, to give a check unto the ſouthern army. But I found him very averſe to this, and perceived, that he apprehended nothing more, than to be joyned to the King's army, or to ſerve under Prince Rupert; for he deſigned himſelfe to be the man, that ſhould turn the ſcale, and to be a ſelf-ſubſiſting and diſtinct army, wherever he was. Which when I perceived fixt in him, being left to diſcretion, I thought it more reaſonable to wave it, than preſſe him to the contrary; and by ſeverall ſtories and expreſſions he made, I diſcovered, he was bottom'd upon this ground, and would not be brought from it. For I found with great ſavor he related to me the ſtory of the arch-Iriſh-Rebell Tyrone; who being taken priſoner by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, and brought up to Q. Eliſabeth; and Tyrone perceiving the Deputy waiting in the Privy-Chamber among the Nobility and Gentry there,

without any diſtinguiſhing character of the greatnes he held in Ireland, Tyrone vented himſelfe to a Country-man of his, who told it thus; *I am aſhamed*, ſayes he, *to have bin taken a priſoner by yond great man, who now in a crowd makes himſelfe ſo low and common, as to be waiting for a woman's coming out.* To deſcant no more upon the ſtory; I thought I might make a full reſolution, how little he intended to keep himſelfe in a nearnes with his army, to be in conjunction, if need were, with the King's; and yet he told me, that when he could quitt Yorkſhire, and leave it in a condition to defend it ſelfe againſt the before mentioned enemies in it, (which the Yorkſhire men would not have bin unwilling to have adventured, if he had left them in ſome meaſure their own forces, and march'd with his own more northerly army; for they knew the Parliament would command Fairfax after him) he would march thro' Lincolnſhire, and recruit himſelfe there, and ſo over the Waſhes into Norfolk, and Suffolk, and the aſſociated Counties; which had bin a noble deſigne. For before this, by reaſon of Eſſex and his army's improſperity at Edgehill, and the moldring away of it about Reading; and becauſe of

of the conſiderablenes of the Lord of Newcaſtle's army, and the dwindling of Fairfax's about Hull, the two Houſes, under the conduct of the Earle of Mancheſter and Cromwell, whoſe intereſt lay in thoſe Counties, the one in Huntingtonſhire, the other in Cambridgeſhire, had aſſociated unto them Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, and the Iſle of Ely; and thoſe forces were by the Earle of Eſſex firſt put under the command of the Lord Gray of Wark, yet not long after they devolved into the hands of the Lord Mancheſter and Cromwell. And here was the root of the Independency; and this army, when afterward it joyn'd with the Scotch army, and defeated the Earle of Newcaſtle at Marſton-moore, and took in York, extinguiſht his glory; which, if he had purſued that deſign of marching into their aſſociated Counties, it had prevented; ſo as he had a naturall foreſight, from whence his danger ſhould ariſe; but not a good Angell or Genius to divert it.

The Aſſociated Counties under the direction of Mancheſter and Cromwell.

It may be neceſſary to character theſe two great men, whoſe Army did truly and really turn the ſcale of the whole warr at Marſton-moore, tho' wee ſhall find afterwards another Head or Generall of it: Mancheſter being to be thruſt out,

Sir Thomas Fairfax.

and Sir Tho. Fairfax, a man of a military genius, undaunted courage and preſence of mind in the field both in action and danger, but of a very common underſtanding in all other affairs, and of a worſe elocution; and ſo a moſt fit tool for Mr. Cromwel to work with, being thereunto to be choſen.

Earle of Manchester.

The Earle of Manchester, formerly known by the name of the Lord Kimbolton, was a Gentleman of very good parts, and of very good education, both at home and abroad, and of a debonair nature, but very facile or changeable; and had the misfortune to fall into ill company, or elſe ſurely he had bin a very good man. He married the Earle of Warwick's daughter; and his own father, the Lord Privy-Seal, kept him but at hard meat; inſomuch as his converſation with that gang of men, Sir Nathanael Rich, his wife's uncle, and the Earle of Warwick, his father-in-law, and the Lord Say, and the like, made him early appear a great zealot: and yet with all his good nature or the facility of it, he did as much harm, and as rigidly managed his power given him to reform the Univerſity of Cambridge, as the worſt-natur'd man could have done. And therefore it was ſuppoſed; tho' he

he ſeemed the head, he was but the inſtrument of Mr. Cromwell, who made great ravage in all thoſe aſſociated Counties on the King's party.

I have no mind to give an ill character of Cromwell; for in his converſation towards me he was ever friendly; tho' at the latter end of the day finding me ever incorrigible, and having ſome inducements to ſuſpect me a tamperer, he was ſufficiently rigid. The firſt time, that ever I took notice of him, was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November 1640, when I vainly thought my ſelfe a courtly young Gentleman: (for we Courtiers valued our ſelves much upon our good cloaths.) I came one morning into the Houſe well clad, and perceived a Gentleman ſpeaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth-ſute, which ſeemed to have bin made by an ill country-taylor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a ſpeck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hatt was without a hatt-band: his ſtature was of a good ſize, his ſword ſtuck cloſe to his ſide, his countenance ſwoln and reddiſh, his voice ſharp and untunable, and his O. Cromwell.

eloquence full of fervor; for the ſubject matter would not bear much of reaſon; it being in behalfe of a ſervant of Mr. Prynn's, who had diſperſt libells againſt the Queen for her dancing and ſuch like innocent and courtly ſports; and he aggravated the impriſonment of this man by the Council-Table unto that height, that one would have beleived, the very Goverment it ſelfe had been in great danger by it. I ſincerely profeſſe it leſſened much my reverence unto that great councill; for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I liv'd to ſee this very Gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus deſcribe, by multiplied good ſucceſſes, and by reall (but uſurpt) power: (having had a better taylor, and more converſe among good company) in my owne eye, when for ſix weeks together I was a priſoner in his ſerjeant's hands, and dayly waited at Whitehall, appeare of a great and majeſtick deportment and comely preſence. Of him therefore I will ſay no more, but that verily I beleive, he was extraordinarily deſigned for thoſe extraordinary things, which one while moſt wickedly and facinorouſly he acted, and at another as ſuccesfully and greatly performed.

After

After the rendition of Oxford, I living ſome time with the Lady Beadle (my wife's ſiſter) near Huntington, had occaſion to converſe with Mr. Cromwell's Phyſician, Dr. Simcott, who aſſured me, that for many years his Patient was a moſt ſplenetick man, and had phanſyes about the croſs in that town; and that he had bin called up to him at midnight and ſuch unſeaſonable houres very many times, upon a ſtrong phanſy, which made him beleive he was then dying; and there went a ſtory of him, that in the day-time lying melancholy in his bed, he beleived, that a ſpirit appeared to him, and told him, that he ſhould be the greateſt man (not mentioning the word *King*) in this Kingdom. Which his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, who left him all the little eſtate Cromwell had, told him was traiterous to relate. The firſt years of his manhood were ſpent in a diſſolute courſe of life, in good fellowſhip and gaming, which afterwards he ſeemed very ſenſible of and ſorrowful for; and as if it had bin a good ſpirit, that had guided him therein, he uſed a good method upon his converſion; for he declared, he was ready to make reſtitution unto any man, who would accuſe him, or whom he could accuſe himſelfe

His enthuſiaſticall and ſplenetick temper.

to

to have wronged: (to his honor I ſpeak this; for I think the publick acknowledgments men make of the publick evills they have done, to be the moſt glorious trophies they can have aſſigned to them.) When he was thus civilized, he joyned himſelfe to men of his own temper, who pretended unto tranſports and revelations.

He became the head of the malcontent party in the buſines of the Fenns.

Now not long after the Earle of Bedford and divers of the principal Gentlemen, whoſe habitations confined upon the Fenns, and who in the heat of ſummer ſaw vaſt quantities of lands, which the freſh waters overflowed in the winter, lye dry, and green, or drainable; whether it was publick ſpirit, or private advantage, which led them thereunto, a ſtranger cannot determine: they make propoſitions unto the King to iſſue out commiſſions of Sewers to drayn thoſe lands, and offer a proportion freely to be given to the Crown for its countenance and authority therein. And as all theſe great and publick works muſt neceſſarily concerne multitudes of perſons, who will never think they have exact juſtice done to them for that ſmall pretenſe of right, they have unto ſome commons; ſo the Commiſſioners, let them do what they can, could never ſatisfy ſuch a body of men.

men. And now the King is declared the principall Undertaker for the drayning; and by this time the vulgar are grown clamorous againſt theſe firſt popular Lords and Undertakers, who had joyned with the King in the ſecond undertaking; tho' they had much better proviſions for them, than their intereſt was ever before: and the Commiſſioners muſt by multitudes and clamours be withſtood; and as a head of this faction, Mr. Cromwell in the year 1638 at Huntington appears; which made his activity ſo well known unto his friend and kinſman, Mr. Hambden, that he in this Parliament gave a character of Cromwell, of being an active perſon, and one that would ſitt well at the mark; and thus he is early joyned unto the moſt buſy contrivers of the new intended changes.

He plundered his uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver Cromwell.

One thing more I have to obſerve concerning his temper, that whilſt I was about Huntington, viſiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his houſe at Ramſey, he told me this ſtory of his ſuccesfull nephew and godſon; that he viſited him with a good ſtrong party of horſe, and that he had askt him his bleſſing, and that the few houres he was there, he would not keep on his hatt in his preſence; but at

at the ſame time he not onely diſarmed but plundered him: for he took away all his plate.

The Independents.

Now from his perſonall temper we will reflect on the temper of his whole army; for they had all either naturally the phanatick humor, or ſoon imbibed it. But a herd of this ſort of men being by him drawn together, he himſelfe, like Mahomet, having tranſports of phanſy and withall a crafty underſtanding, knowing, that naturall principles, tho' not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of naturall and politick ends; made uſe of the zeal and credulity of thoſe perſons, teaching them, as they too readily taught themſelves, that they engaged for God, when he led them againſt his Vicegerent, the King: and where this opinion mett with a naturall courage, it made them the bolder, and too often the crueller: for it was ſuch a ſort of men, as kill'd brave young Cavendiſh and many others, after quarter given, in cold blood. And theſe men habited more to ſpirituall pride, than carnall riot or intemperance, ſo conſequently having bin induſtrious and active in their former callings and profeſſions, where naturall courage wanted, zeale ſupplied its place; and at firſt they choſe rather

rather to dye, than flye; and cuſtom removed fear of danger: and afterwards finding the ſweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder, and of preferment, ſuitable to activity and merit; the lucrative part made gaine ſeem to them a naturall member of godlines. And I cannot here omit a character of this army, which Generall Fairfax gave unto my ſelfe, after the rendition of Oxford, upon a viſit I made him: (for my wife was his near kinſwoman) when complementing him with the regularity and temperance of his army, he told me, *The beſt common ſoldiers he had*, (for he himſelfe was of a rationall temper, not phanaticall) *came out of our army, and from the garriſons he had taken in. So* (ſayes he) *I found jon had made them good ſoldiers, and I have made them good men.* But upon this whole matter it may appear, that the ſpirit of diſcipline of warr may beget that ſpirit of diſcipline, which even Solomon deſcribes, as the ſpirit of wiſdom and obedience. And I remember, what a ſober friend of mine told me, that he replied to an old acquaintance of his, engaged with Fairfax, vaunting of the ſanctity of their army and the negligence of ours: *Faith*, (ſayes he) *thou ſayeſt true; for in our army, we have the ſins*

ſins of men, (drinking and wenching) but in yours, you have thoſe of devils, ſpirituall pride and rebellion.

As we have thus character'd Manchester and Cromwell, ſo it may be neceſſary to take notice of Sir William Waller, who was a Favourite-Generall of the city of London; as likewiſe of Alderman Browne, a Woodmonger, afterwards for his civill uſage of the King, whilſt a priſoner, well thought of, and knighted, *viz.* Sir Richard Browne.

Waller. Waller was a Gentleman of courage and parts, and of a civill and ceremonious behavionr. He held a gainfull farme from the Crown of the butlerage and prizage of wines; but upon a quarrell between him and Sir Thomas Reynols, a Courtier, who had an intereſt in the farme of the Wine-Licences, upon whom Waller having uſed his cudgell, and being cenſured and fined for it in the Starr-Chamber, and having a zealous Lady, who uſed to call him, *her man of God*, he engaged on the Parliament-ſide.

Browne. Browne was a man of a clear courage, and of a good underſtanding, and very crafty, as his treaty with the Lord Digby, then Secretary of State, whilſt he lay at Abington, will hereafter ſhew: he was Presbyterian in religion, as well

as

as Parliamentarian in civill affaires; but fell off from both at laſt. His intereſt in the City made his ſmall flying body of men (for he moved ſometimes alone) very conſiderable for their ſtoutnes, more than for their number.

Major-Generall Skippon was another Favourite of the City: he was their Confident, when they were firſt poyſoned in their loyalty; and was alwayes a guide in the Earle of Eſſex his army, and a high Presbyterian, and bred in Holland. Skippon.

The year 1642 having thus begun the civill warr, (for the feaver then broke forth) the two years after, 1643. and 1644. brought the diſeaſe to its heighth or criſis, and in every part of the land there was too too plentiful a letting blood.

In this year in the encounter about Stafford was ſlain (tho' he dyed victorious) that moſt noble and ſtout Lord, the Earle of Northampton, by Sir William Brereton and Sir John Gell's forces; which was a conſiderable loſs; for his perſon was very valuable, and he had bin bred with the King, being Gentleman of his Robes; and he had as much love to his Maſter, as loyalty. This may be ſaid of him, that he faithfully ſerved his Maſter, living and dead; for he left ſix eminent ſons, The fight at Stafford, where was killed the Earle of Northampton; with an accompt of his ſix ſons.

ſons, who were all heirs of his courage, loyalty, and virtue; whereof the eldeſt was not then twenty. At the battell at Edgehill the eldeſt was abſent, but Sir Charles and Sir William charged in the troop with their father. Sir Spencer, tho' not able to graſp a piſtoll, yet in indignation cryed, that he was not expoſed to the ſame hazard his brothers were. After their father's death, the young Lord had the ſame charge in the army his father had before, and was in all his rencounters forward, ſtout, and fortunate; and Sir Charles gave the like account of himſelfe in the command of the Horſe. Sir William ſignalized himſelfe in defending Banbury Caſtle againſt a long and a powerfull ſiege; in which action he ſhewed much of an old ſoldier, (though a young man, never engaged before) in fortifying the place, cheering his men, and ſo ordering his proviſions, that they ſerved him to extremity, and untill he was releived. Sir Spencer ſoon applyed himſelfe unto the ſervice of our preſent King, and was as eminently pious, as courageous and knowing. Sir Francis was of ſo tender age, that he came not into play, till his preſent Majeſtie's happy reſtitution; but ſince ſhewed himſelfe in the command he hath of a troop of horſe

in

in his Majeſtie's guards here at home, and abroad in Flanders, equall to his brothers. Mr. Henry Compton, the youngeſt, addicted himſelf to his book, and made ſuch a progreſs in all ſorts of learning, that he was ſoon eminent; which he improved by his travells into forein parts, and he entred himſelfe into the military liſt; but the grave Prelates, conſcious of his abilities to ſerve the Church, ſoon brought him into Orders; and his Majeſtie's value of the family, and of himſelfe, made him a ſpeedy paſſage to that high preferment he now poſſeſſes and (to the ſatisfaction of the Church, Court, and City) exerciſes at preſent, as Biſhop of London.

In the ſame year the Earle of New-caſtle got an important victory over the Lord Fairfax at Adderton-moor; where-in this is memorable, that when the day ſeemed loſt on his ſide, and many of his horſe and foot ſtanding doubtfull and wavering; a ſtand or body of pikes, which being not uſefull, where the two armies were ſtrongliest engaged, came up to the defenſe of their foot, and charged by Fairfax's horſe, repelling them, gave leiſure to rally horſe and foot, and by the credit thereof entirely defeated Fairfax's army, and drove him and his

Battell at Adderton-moor.

ſcattered troops into Hull. This victory made the Earle ſeem Lord of the North; for from Berwick to Newcaſtle, and from Newcaſtle to Newark, all was the King's, and the cheife Nobility and Gentry engaged in his army, and ſeverall towns and caſtles garriſon'd for him; particularly the town of Newcaſtle, the city of York, and the Earle of Newcaſtle's own Houſe, Welbeck; the Lord Frechevill's houſe, Staley; and the Earle of Cheſterfeild's, Shelford; and that moſt important garriſon, Newark.

The King's forces in Lincolnſhire, Leiceſterſhire, and Shropſhire.

And at this time Mr. Charles Cavendiſh, brother to the Earle of Devonſhire, was very proſperous with a ſmall flying army in Lincolnſhire; and Mr. Haſtings, afterwards Lord Louborough, ſecond ſon to the Earle of Huntington, was conſiderable, both in his garriſon and ſmall flying body about Aſhby-de-la-Zouch in Leiceſterſhire. Beaver-caſtle was likewiſe garriſoned, and many more might be named northweſt, as Ludlow, Bridgenorth, Shrewsbury, the Wyches, and ſo up to Cheſter: and in Wales Cherk-caſtle, and Mountgomery-caſtle, *&c.* All which is but mentioned, to ſhew, how univerſall the conflagration was; for the Parliament-party wanted not ſome forces in all thoſe places to bal-

ballance, tho' not out-ballance, the King's party.

In this year, in the West the King reduced that most important trading town, Bristol, which was garrisoned by the Parliament, and commanded by a Gentleman, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, who had more of the learning of the Gown-men, (whether wee consider them, as Lawyers or Divines) than he had of the sword; and who a little before had detected a conspiracy by the Sheriff of that city, one Mr. Yeomans, and Mr. Bouchier, and Dakers, and others to deliver up that place to the King: but he seized on them, and executed them; being forwarder to exercise an act of cruelty, than he was to shew, (when the place came actually to be besieged) an act of courage to defend it. Bristoll surrendred by Mr. Fiennes.

The West was not managed to the best advantage; for Prince Maurice, being assign'd a Commander in chiefe, tho' he was a very brave Prince, and a good soldier, yet those countries hankering after the Earle of Hartford, or some great man among themselves, were not at first so plyant and hearty, as otherwise probably they would have bin. However, soon after the rendition of Bristol to the King, the brave young Affairs in the West managed by Prince Maurice, Earle of Hartford, and

Earle of Carnarvan.

Earle of Carnarvan, a Gentleman of an excellent ſpirit, (tho' formerly he had made uſe of his wit ſomewhat prophanely, which humor he now ſhook off, and turned into ſeriouſnes and extraordinary diligence) with that flying body he commanded, had rendred to him Portland, Weymouth, and Melcomb, who ſoon ſubmitted, and became loyall: as unto Prince Maurice did the city of Exeter, the town of Barnſtable; and indeed moſt of the Weſtern counties in their inland parts became the King's.

Exeter delivered up to the King.

Lynn ſurpriſed.

Thus highly, even unto a miracle, conſidering his ſmall beginning, did the King proſper both in the North and Weſt: and this good ſucceſs made the blood boyle even in the aſſociated counties: for the town of Lynn was ſurpriſed for his Majeſtie by ſome of the Gentry there: but (his affairs not long continuing proſperous) was by Manchester ſoon retaken. But the iſſue ſhewed, that Providence made this diſpenſation, tending more unto the puniſhment of the Nation, than unto the reſettlement of the Royall family. One (or the like) councill in both quarters, North and Weſt, ſoon blaſted the proſperity in each place; for the King pitcht

pitcht upon that fatall reſolution, recommended to him, as it is ſaid, by the Lord Culpeper, (who wanted no loyalty) of beſieging Gloceſter, and who thought it a good policy not to leave a ſtrong town behind him. But the counſell proved fatall; for had the King at that time reſolved in himſelf to have ſtruck at the proud head of London, and had had authority enough at that time to have required the Earle of Newcaſtle to have joyned with him, (both armies being never in ſo good a ſtate, and the countries, which they commanded, ſo free and ſecure) humanely ſpeaking, he had raiſed ſuch confuſion among the two Houſes and Londoners, that they had either ſent him his own terms, or if they had fought him, moſt probably he had bin victorious. For the countries about London were well-affected to the King's cauſe; and many in London paſſionately wiſhed for his approch. But henceforward it befell the King's forces, as it did the Iſraelites, who being diſcouraged by the greateſt number of ſpies, would not march up towards Canaan, where they might have entered within two years after their exit from Egypt; but their refractorines loſing them their opportunity, made them wander in the

Siege of Gloceſter.

wildernes forty years. Upon which, that good Hiſtorian, Sir Walter Rawleigh, makes this obſervation, *That the times of grace and of man's repentance have a ſett appointment*; or in plainer terms, *Oftentimes divine Providence gives a man but one ſingle ſeaſon to lay hold on.* But the King fixes on Gloceſter, and the Earle of Newcaſtle as fatally about the ſame time ſetts down before Hull.

Gloceſter was at that time held by Maſſey for the Parliament: but the King opiniating there too long, Eſſex at London gott up a ſtrong army, in order to the releife of it; and the King upon his approch drawing off too late, his foot could not accompany his horſe; ſo as vigilant and forward Prince Rupert, who was advanced with the horſe, not willing to let ſlip the advantage he had in the open grounds about Aubern-chaſe, made ſo brave a charge on Eſſex's army, that he routed many great bodies both of their horſe and foot; where, and in the next battell after at Newbury, the Lord Gerrard appeared eminent; and had the foot bin there, moſt probably they had made the victory entire.

Newbury fight, where were killed.

The King in the mean time haſtening with his foot, poſſeſſed himſelfe of Newbury, intending to hinder Eſſex's retreat

to

to London; which he projected to have done without fighting; but forced thereunto by a ſharp engagement, made his way open: the country there being very advantageous for the ſervice of his foot. Eſſex loſt many more men, than did the King; yet making his paſſage open towards Reading, and ſome perſons on the King's ſide, who fell that day, being much more valuable, than any, that were ſlain of Eſſex's party, the honour of the day ſeemed to belong unto that ſide. For here fell that brave young Earle of Carnarvan; who having chang'd much of his diſordered courſe of life before, gave ſuch evidences of repentance now, that had he liv'd, moſt probably he would have bin as great an example of virtue, as ever he had bin before of extravagancy. The Earle of Carnarvan.

And here was extinguiſht that fine flame, which made ſplendid that excellent ſoul of the Lord Faulkland, then Secretary of State, whoſe courage carried him too farr in this engagement: and here likewiſe fell that modeſt, courageous, and loyall young Lord, the Earle of Sunderland, whoſe family of Spencers was ever found in its root, and in all its numerous branches. the Lord Faulkland, and the Earle of Sunderland.

Siege of Hull.

And as if the ſame miſguiding ſpirit had reign'd in the North, tho' the Counſellor thereof had much more reaſon to be ſuſpected; the Earle of Newcaſtle ſate down before Hull, upon the advice (it was ſaid) of his Lieutenant-Generall, King. Upon a ſecond diſpatch from Oxford, I was then in the North with this great Lord; for it was then very doubtfull at Oxford, whether the Scots, who had now raiſed an Army, would march in, in behalfe of the King, or of the Parliament: for Duke Hamilton's intelligence made it very doubtfull, for like all the reſt, he never read their true meaning, untill their deſign was not to be prevented: but thus cautious his letters were, that they moſt commonly doubted. The Earle of Newcaſtle's horſe lying on the Lincolnſhire-ſide of Hull, and he with his army lying before it on the North, I found him of a very cheery complexion, and hopefull to reduce that town. I went down to ſee his trenches and works, and found (the ſeaſon having bin very wett) his men ſtanding ancle-deep in dirt, a great diſtance from the town; ſo as I conceived, thoſe without were likelier to rott, than thoſe within to ſtarve: and by aſſault there was not the leaſt probability to carry it.

Upon

Upon my return to him, relating but faintly and modeſtly my thoughts, (for he knew I had not the leaſt part of a ſoldier to warrant a diſcourſe upon that ſubject) he merrily put it off, ſaying, *You often hear me called the Popiſh army: but you ſee, we truſt not in our good works.* I returned to York, and not long after he found it fitt to draw off his Army.

The Commiſſioners ſent into Scotland by the Parliament.

About this time young Sir Henry Vane, and Stephen Marſhall, the great archiepiſcopall Presbyter, were got into Scotland, where the King's miſcarrying at Gloceſter, and this great man's at Hull, with ſome other advantageous propoſitions, like Jonathan's taſting a little honey upon the point of his wand, opened the Scott's eyes, and renewed their fainting reſolutions; and they found, and ſaid, *It was as reaſonable for them to aſſiſt the two Houſes of Parliament in England againſt the King, as it was for Queen Eliſabeth to aſſiſt the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland againſt the Queen of Scots.*

Scotch Covenant impoſed on England.

And now the Scotch Covenant muſt be fitted to ſerve both England and Scotland; and the Engliſh muſt ſwear to abjure their eſtabliſht Church-Government, before they had any propoſed in place

place of it. Here the Commissioners of the severall Nations endeavour to outwitt one another; and so the Scots must alter our English Church, according to the best Reformed Churches; (and that must necessarily be the Kirk of Scotland) and sly Sir Henry Vane adds according unto the word of God: and that would as tolerably propose for a pattern Independency. And thus they willingly cozened themselves and one another, and as many more, as would swallow this gilded pill. And as these tender men were farr from being scrupulous in breaking oaths, which they had taken themselves about things known and establisht by law; so they make no scruple to take new oaths, and to make others swear to maintaine the priviledges of both Kingdom's Parliaments: (which were things never yet, nor perchance ever will be defined) and the penalty of refusing this Covenant must be no less, than being declared an enemy unto Religion, unto the King's honour, and the Kingdom's peace, with the loss of all offices and places, and incapacity to receive any other in the future.

The Scots march into England, to assist the Parliament.

About this time comes out of Scotland an advertisement from Hamilton unto the Earle of Newcastle by one Mr. Neal, (an intel-

intelligent perſon, and who managed all the affairs of Mr. William Murray) to warn the Earle of the Scots intention to march into England; and to leave it to him, whether he would not garriſon Berwick and Carliſle in prevention of the Scots doing ſo. This ſmelt too rank with my Lord of Newcaſtle, who diſpatcht away Neal to Oxford; but he replied to the Duke, that *this action would be againſt the Treaty, ratified by the Parliaments of both Nations upon the Pacification; and might give the Scots juſt occaſion to complaine of the King, and ſo conſequently juſt reaſon for their intended march.* But the Scots were not ſo ſcrupulous; for they ſoon after garriſoned thoſe places; and if Hamilton had had a mind to have made any adventure for the King, (as there were great flutterings ſeemingly to do it; for under pretenſe of honouring my Lady Roxburgh's funeral with their preſence, 1000 horſe (pretenders to ſerve the King) mett with the Duke there, not far from Berwick-borders, but parted without any ſuch reſolution) it had bin an eaſy matter for them to have ſeized Berwick: and then peradventure not unfitt for the Marquiſs of Newcaſtle to have own'd them. But to ſay no more, all the Scotch endeavours

of

of the King's party vaniſht into ſmoak, and the Scotch army marches unto the Parliament's aſſiſtance; and Duke Hamilton and his brother come poſt to Oxford to tell a fair, tho' a lamentable, tale. And Hamilton might juſtly thinke himſelfe in no great danger, tho' guilty, when a Scotch army was in England, and joyned unto the Engliſh. But to Oxford he comes, and there the repreſentations made of him unto the King, even by ſome of his own Country-men, conclude him guilty: but here the two brothers are diſtinguiſhed: the Duke being impriſon'd, his brother ſett free. And not long after the King conferred his place of Maſter of the Horſe on Prince Rupert; which he was preſt unto, for fear, that Hamilton might return to a capacity of recozening him; which tho' the King charges him not with directly and openly, yet he ſeems not to diſown.

The declenſion of the King's affairs.

From this time the King's affaires run all into the wain. The two Houſes, who had the wealth and trade of London, had the ſtrength in a manner of all England; for here was truly the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and it made the caſe betwixt the King and the two Houſes, like that betwixt the Venetian and a proud Spaniſh Ambaſſador there, who coming into their Arſenall, and ſeeing

ſeeing their treaſures, and a maſſy chain of gold lying upon the ground, he turn'd it, and ſpurn'd it, untill they asked him, what he ſought; *The root*, (ſayes he) *it ſeems, is here above-ground with you, but in my Maſter's country it grows below.* Thus was London an inexhauſtible fountaine, and ſuch an hydra, that if it had one head cut off, there ſprang up preſently another; for about this time one Meldrum, a Scot, was intruſted with a very conſiderable body of horſe and foot, to beſeige that important garriſon of Newark: which town gained, would have cut off all intercourſe betwixt the King and the Earle of Newcaſtle. About that time Prince Rupert, who ſeemed the life of the King's army, was recruiting his own army, in order to the defenſe of the North, in Lincolnſhire, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire, upon the Scots coming in: but the Newarkers importuning his Majeſtie, he receives poſitive orders in the firſt place to relieve that town; and before he marches thither, wee will make a haulk in thoſe Northern proceedings; and view, what the King and the Earle of Eſſex and Waller do here in the Weſt of England.

Eſſex and Waller's progreſs in the Weſt.

About this time, it being about the year 1644, the two Houſes being aſſured, that

that the Scots were entring this Kingdom on their behalfs, they reckoned and made too true an account, that they had overbalanced the King's party in the North: for besides the Scots army and Fairfax's army; they had appointed Manchester and Cromwell to attend that service; and then strengthning Essex and Waller, they sent them out with two considerable armies to besiege the King, if he should stay in Oxford, or to fight him, in case they should draw him into the field, Prince Rupert being then absent. But the King taking a resolution not to be besieged, and amusing Waller by a strong party of horse under the command of the Earle of Cleaveland, a Nobleman of a daring courage, full of industry and activity, as well as firm loyalty, and usually successfull in what he attempted: he so bravely beanded Waller, that the King in the mean time, who had carried this design with all secrecy, with a well-selected body of horse and foot, marched out of Oxford towards Worcester; where the Earle of Cleaveland at a certain rendevous joyn'd him; and Essex and Waller finding themselves deceived, and believing, that the King would march to joyn with Prince Rupert; and having no good intelligence between themselves, they

Earle of Cleaveland.

they resolv'd, that Essex should march into the West, and Waller follow the King.

Waller was a man of more courage, and reckoned a good soldier, but not of good fortune; for the year before he received a considerable loss at Landsdown-fight, by the Lord Hopton, not far from Bath: tho' in that fight fell that excellent person, Sir Bevil Greenvill, a man of great integrity, courage, and interest in his country. But a small accident did great mischef that day to the Lord Hopton's party; for the greatest part of his ammunition took fire, and he himselfe was much singed and defaced by it; so as for want of powder he was forced to march into the town of the Devizes: which Waller coming to understand, he took courage again, and came to beseige Hopton there; and had not the King soon sent the Lord Wilmot and Carnarvan to releive him, he had not bin in a posture to defend himselfe. But here the King's forces at Roundway-down bravely charging him, gave him an intire defeat.

Landsdown-fight, where fell Sir Bevill Greenvill.

Roundway-down battell.

He had not much better luck this year in the pursuit of the King; for the King understanding, that Essex was marched into the West, suddenly turns back upon him,

Cropredy-bridge.

him, and at Cropredy-bridge (which Waller would have forced) the King defeated him. How it came about, moſt men were ignorant; but the Lord Wilmot, then Generall of the horſe, was that day twice taken priſoner, and Sir William Boteler, (a Gentleman of extraordinary zeal to his Majeſtie's ſervice); and Sir William Clerke, his Country-man, (of the ſame affections) by extraordinary ſervice that day ſignalized their deaths.

The King's march into Cornwall.

The King after this victory immediately marches into the Weſt, as far as Cornwall, and at Liſcard ſurpriſes ſome of Eſſex's cheife Field-officers: and having Eſſex's army at a bay, the King (ſtill deſirous of peace) ſent to Eſſex a letter, that a generall peace might be treated betwixt them: but he denyed any ſuch power in himſelfe, and rather choſe to deſert his army, and from Salt-aſh in a ſmall boat to get to Plymouth, than to be inſtrumentall in ſo good a work. Thus ſtubborn can diſloyalty make a man, that he ſhall chooſe to caſt off naturall allegiance, to maintain unnaturall conſpiracy. And the Generall thus fled, Skippon (Major-Generall of his foot) had articles granted him to march away with his men from Liſtithiel to Pool,

Pool, and from thence, if they pleaſed, to Portſmouth; but not to bear any armes, before they came thither.

Here the Lord Wilmot, who commanded the King's horſe, was playing another prank of accommodation and treaty, and propoſing the Prince of Wales (tho' the King preſent) to bee the Mediator of the peace; but the King reſolutely removes him from the head of his charge, and places Generall Goring in his ſtead; who certainly was as good a ſoldier, as any the King had. But had he in the beginning of this warr made Portſmouth as defenſible, as with the few men he had, he for a time defended it, moſt probably the King thereby had bin Maſter of the Weſt. But to ſhew the infirmity of the government, this important town lay ſo neglected in its fortifications, and the Parliament having got the King's navy into their hands, it was the firſt town, that the Parliament by a formall ſiege wrung from the King: and now it is their ſanctuary for their broken army to march into. Here Goring, who had turn'd wantonnes into riot, turn'd riot into madnes: (which I mention, becauſe I beleive hereby the Townſmen's good affections were loſt; and to ſhew Princes, that when they give way to the

L. Wilmot.

Generall Goring.

vices of their Commanders, tho' they be never so brave men, they seldom recompence their neglects by any future diligence; for a Prince must be an awe to all, that serve him, else he is a servant to their humor.) And this brave Gentleman had two Companions, that fed his debauch, but had not his bravery; that a carefull State would have removed them from him, or all three from future trust.

Failure in Wilmot, E. of Newcastle, and Lord Digby.

Thus had not the Earle of Newcastle affected an independency, and Wilmot not born too much kindnes to Essex, or Goring not favoured too much his own riot, the conclusion of this warr might have bin as glorious to their Master, as it was fatall: or had not the Lord Digby this year given a fatall direction unto that excellent Prince Rupert to have fought the Scotch army, surely that great Prince and Soldier, after he had releived York by the three armies drawing off their siege from it, had never so precipitately and ruinously fought them. But whether his directions were positive as he said; or an intimation only, that the King could have wish'd it, as the Lord Digby said; or whether it was the fault of the Lord Newcastle, that according to promise he came not soon enough out with

with his men to the assistence of the Prince, falls not under my knowledge or intelligence. Sure I am, had the North this summer bin as succesfull, as was the West, (which we see probably might have bin) or had not Wilmot's unreasonable propositions and worse managing of it lessen'd the victory there, (for by that means Essex's horse, of about five and twenty hundred, brake forth, and freed themselves) the scale of victory had most likely turned on his Majestie's side.

The King's army ruined in the North.

Wee will now look back into the North, and mark the steps, by which that army was brought to nought, and the Generall thereof necessitated in a small ship to transport himselfe to Hamborough, as Essex had in a small boat bin forc'd to fly to Plymouth. The Prince, tho' it gave him great interruption, having received positive orders from Oxford, by the hands of Sir Edward Osborn, formerly under the Earle of Strafford Vicepresident of the North, (a Gentleman of great loyalty, activity, and prudence) to march immediately towards the releife of Newark, where the persons in it for loyalty and activity and for consideration in their countries, Nottingham and Lincolnshire,

Sir Edward Osborne.

Siege of Newark.

were as important as the place; for had all garriſons bin managed, as this was, by that excellent perſon, Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, Sir Gervaſe Clifton, Sir Gervaſe Ayres, *&c.* and the large contribution belonging thereto ſo truly employed by the Governor, to keep up a full garriſon; (which in too too many other places riot or covetouſnes miſpent) moſt probably the warr on his Majeſtie's part had bin much more ſuccesfull.

Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington.

As ſoon as the Prince came before it, tho' the enemy were very ſtrong and very well poſted, and very reſolute, (for Meldrum, a Scot, and a good ſoldier, *tho'* formerly highly obliged to the King, and his menial ſervant, in order to make way for his Country-men, managed this ſiege with great ſtoutnes and diligence) the reſolution and bravery of the Prince, and the forwardnes and ſtoutnes of this garriſon, whereof Sir Richard Byron, a perſon of great courage, and whoſe brother, the Lord Byron, was of a great name and reputation in the King's army, and afterwards Governour of Cheſter, play'd all their parts ſo well, that after a ſharp engagement to the danger of the Prince's perſon, he releived that place; and with this honour (and it was great honour)

Sir Richard Byron.

honour) retreated back into Cheſhire and Lancaſhire to recruit his forces: where by the bye he releived that heroick Lady, the Counteſs of Derby, who had maintain'd for eighteen weeks at leaſt her Lord's houſe, called Latham, againſt a cloſe ſiege; but Fairfax and Meldrum had better fortune at Selby againſt Colonel Bellaſis, now Lord Bellaſis, (tho' he made a good defenſe) where he lay at an outwork or reſerve for the Marquis of Newcaſtle at York; which by this time he was forced to quitt, and leave under the command of Sir Thomas Glenham, that he himſelfe might march towards Newcaſtle to make head againſt the Scots, upon their firſt entring into this kingdom. But the cheife guidance of his army being under Generall King, a Scot, he knew ſo well, how to manage it, not knowing otherwiſe how to repreſs the Engliſh courage, that the Scots one while were beaten, and another victorious, till at laſt came to them from Hull a body of about 3000 Engliſh: many among them being ſtout ſeamen, that at a place called Hilton a conſiderable loſs befell the Marquiſs of Newcaſtle's foot, and he immediately thereupon marched back to York. Not long after Fairfax joyns his army unto the Scots.

The Queen removes to Exeter, where ſhee was delivered of the Princeſs Henrietta.

This ſtorm made the Queen (who was ever more forward than ſtout) to remove from Oxford unto Exeter, where being with child, ſhe was delivered of Princeſs Henrietta, and ſoon after embarques for France; for the two Houſes had impeached her of treaſon.

York beſieged.

The Marquis of Newcaſtle about this time being coopt up in York, and beſieged by three armies, Generall Leſley's, (or the Scots) Fairfax's, (or that of the North) and Mancheſter's, (or that of the aſſociated counties) he was often very warmly aſſaulted; and he and his men as ſtoutly defended themſelves, to the great loſs and ſome conſiderable waſting of thoſe three armies about two months; for he had excellent foot, and ſtout and reſolute Commanders; and in this compact place Lieutenant-Generall King ſo demean'd himſelfe, that as he ſhewed eminency in ſoldiery and perſonall ſtoutnes: ſo there appeared no want of loyalty; for now he fought not ſingly againſt his own Nation. By this time Prince Rupert with a very good army (Goring being joyn'd to him with the Northern horſe) drew nigh to them, and was by them conceived ſo conſiderable, that they drew off, and quitted the ſiege. And thus

thus the Prince had done his work, if he had not thought fit to have overdone it. For contrary to the usuall axioms of warr in such cases, he took a fatall one; the mortall wound being here given to all the King's affairs; for ever after they did but languish, and were under the chirurgeon's hands. I have lightly mentioned the occasion of this resolution to be the unfortunate pen of the Lord Digby, who indeed was a well-accomplish'd Gentleman, and of great parts, naturall and acquired, and was now Secretary of State, and was as gallant with his sword, as eminent with his tongue or pen; but he had likewise so much of a Romantick spirit, and of such superrefined policies, that, as the Lord Bacon sayes, there are some things, which have more wonder in them, than worth; so as these eminences made him never prosperous either to himselfe or to his Master. But the Prince engaging thus unadvisedly in the plain of Marston-moor the third of July 1644. here unexpectedly the horse and part of the army, commanded by Goring, totally routed Generall Lesley, and the Lord Fairfax, who were both driven out of the field, and came not back to their army in two dayes: but the Prince's horse that day failing of

Lord Digby.

The battell of Marston-moor.

their accuſtomed valour, Cromwell (who had experience of what import a good reſerve was in a day of battell) came and turned the ſcale: and tho' the Marquiſs of Newcaſtle's foot ſtood like a wall, yet he mowed them down like a meadow. So as Prince Rupert was forced to march off towards Cheſter with the debris of the army, about 6000 horſe and dragoons; and the Marquiſs of Newcaſtle, with the Lord Falconbridge, Lord Withrington, and Sir Hugh Cholmley, and many more, took ſhipping at Scarborough, and were tranſported to Hamborough.

York ſurrendred.

The armies ſett down again before York: and after twelve dayes (no hope of releife being viſible) Sir Thomas Glenham, who commanded in it, yeilded it upon honourable terms, both to his ſmall forces, who were to march out with flying colours, bag and baggage, to Skipton in the Dales, and with advantageous conditions, in reſpect of their compoſition to the Gentry and Townſmen there.

Thus all things conſpired againſt this good, but unfortunate, King: for this laſt recited miſadventure befell his affairs in a very ill period of time, when he himſelfe had in the Weſt defeated Eſſex's army;

army: but the reputation of this Northern ſucceſs made the two Houſes ſoon recruit that again. So as before the King could march back to Oxford, both Eſſex and Mancheſter had opportunity to joyn themſelves; and a ſecond engagement at Bucklebury-heath near Newbury was entred into, where the King was again worſted; but drawing off his great cannon to Dennington-caſtle, he marched away to Oxford; which caſtle Eſſex preſently beſieged: but the King ſoon releived it, as he did likewiſe Baſing-houſe, beſieged by Waller. After this follows a Treaty betwixt the King and the two Houſes at Uxbridge; but they, who whilſt their affairs were doubtfull, would not abate of their unreaſonable conditions, had not then the humanity to make them more tolerable now.

Newbury ſecond fight.

As yet the Scots and Presbyterian party ſeemed to be the ruling intereſt in the two Houſes, and the Scotch Covenant to be the idoll; and in order to get this form of Church-Service allowed by the King, Archbiſhop Laud muſt be taken out of the way, and his proceſs made, and his condemnation paſs'd, as hath bin before recited. But theſe bloody men were as near the end of their reign, as was the King; for the Independents gave way

Archbiſhop Laud condemned to dy by an Ordinance of the two Houſes.

Treaty at Uxbridge.

way to this Treaty at Uxbridge to amuſe the Presbyterian with the hope of reforming the Church according to their model; and tho' the King offered here in point of the Church and Civill government ſuch articles, as no reaſonable men could have rejected; yet the Scotch Commiſſioners ſo thunder out their new-coyned terms of *Congregationall*, *Claſſicall*, *Synodicall Aſſemblies*, and ſo exalt them, that the King's Commiſſioners knew not, how to govern themſelves, but by deſiring to reduce the diſcourſe unto what the other ſide had aſſerted; that the conſtitution of the Church of England contained ſomewhat in it contrary to the word of God, and to the prejudice of the Civill State; which Doctor Lany would have kept them unto the proof of; but they ſtormingly declin'd this. Then Doctor Hammond ſo readily, meekly, and fully refuted the interpretation they put upon all their texts, which they brought in behalfe of their Presbytery and Covenant, that their impatience and their proſperity ſoon made them reſolve to conclude this Treaty. And the Independent laught all this while in his ſleeve at both parties; for ſoon after, (wee being now come into the year 1645) he cuts the

the graſs under the Presbyterians feet, and comes out with a new project of a Self-denying Ordinance, for diſcarding all Members of either Houſe from all gainfull, civill, and military employments: for Saints muſt not be ſelfe-ſeekers, or men of this world.

Self-denying Ordinance.

By this they caſt off Eſſex, Manchester, Waller, Lord Gray of Grooby, *&c.* by land, and the Earle of Warwick by ſea; and in a word, all that gang of men, that firſt began the rebellion; and Sir Thomas Fairfax is elected their Generall. But as every rule muſt have ſome exception, ſo care muſt be taken, that Cromwell, and Ireton, and, to pleaſe the City, Presbyter Skippon muſt retaine their charges in the army; and an Independent army was ſoon found of ſpirit enough to purge a Presbyterian Houſe of Commons; for it will not be long, before wee find them doing as much, firſt for Mr. Hollis, and Sir Philip Stapleton, and thoſe leading men there; and ſoon after for the numerous body of them, dragging them out of the Houſe, to prove the freedome of Parliaments, and driving them from this City, from which they had driven their King. But poſſeſſing now the reall authority, they diſpoſſeſt not themſelves of their uſuall diſſimulation, and

The Parliament-army new modelled.

and therefore they made ſome complyances with their Council of State, where ſate the Earle of Northumberland, who favoured the Independent, and where ſate the Earle of Eſſex, who ſtill countenanced the Scots and their Covenant; and which Councill was throughout thus divided: nay tho' Cromwell in the Houſe of Commons ſolemnly proteſted great obedience and fidelity to be in the army towards the Civill power: (for the King was yet in a condition to ſtruggle) the Prince of Wales, attended by the Lord Culpeper and Sir Edward Hyde, being in the Weſt, endeavouring to aſſociate thoſe counties, and to raiſe a new army, and the King at Oxford in a condition to leave that place (at leaſt for a time) defenſible, and to march northerly with a ſmall flying army, they yet forbear to play thoſe pranks, which thus early we have hinted will follow.

New Council of State.

The Parliament having embodied a very conſiderable numerous army; the firſt reſolve is to beſiege the King, if he ſtaid in Oxford; but the King reſolving not to be cooped up in a town with a ſmall, but well appointed, army, marches out from thence. Now tho' the King had underſtood both by his own intelligence, and from Goring, that this new Inde-

Fairfax's deſigne on Oxford.

Independent army, elated with their own proſperity, and their Maſters, being grown weary of the warr, thro' the factions among themſelves, were reſolved to end all by ſome ſharp battell with the King; yet the King, once out of Oxford, declined the counſel, which Goring gave him, of calling him with his Weſtern army from before Taunton, and to have joyned his horſe at leaſt to himſelfe. If the ſtate of affairs had bin duly and fully weighed, a neceſſity lay on his Majeſtie to have kept all his forces cloſe together, or to have bin in ſuch a nearnes for conjunction, as might have made one day the decider of the whole controverſy; but wee ſtill wanted ſome daring reſolution, and ſo choſe rather to dye of a hectic feaver, than of an acute one. For Goring had at leaſt 2500 good horſe, beſides a body of dragoons; and a victory over theſe new men moſt probably (the old being ſo highly diſcontented) would have brought an honorable peace, if not means for a proſperous warr. But I fear our chiefe Commanders ſo little loved one another, that they were not fitted for conjunction. But Goring's propoſition not accepted, the King marched as far as Cheſter, to releive that city then beſieged; which releived, he

as

as fast marches back again; and by the way by assault takes in Leicester, which Fairfax (who now lay at the siege of Oxford) having intelligence of, immediately rises from that siege, and advances upon the King with a resolution to fight his army. Had the King had Goring in any nearnes now, or at Chester foreseen, what he might want, and caused Goring to have expedited his marches towards him at some appointed rendevous, (the necessity of such a conjunction being very obvious) such a prudence would have bin an evidence of a good providence. But the King coming so near to this so often and so lately victorious army, as Leicester was to Oxford, they so suddenly drew off from thence towards the King, that wee may say, that it was one of the first news, that he had of them, that they had beaten up a considerable horse-quarter of his at Naisby: Prince Rupert lying then at Harborough, where at a council of warr a resolution was taken of marching back, and fighting the enemy, who was most eager to fight the King. Many disallowed this advice, because it was so soon after a late ruffle given unto so considerable a party; and because if the enemy had followed them, they might have

Naisby-battell.

have choſen their own ground, and made their advantages: but he that cenſures counſels, and is unacquainted with the true reaſons, on which they were grounded; as he commits an error himſelfe, ſo he leads others into the ſame. I penetrated the affair no deeper: and I give the beſt account I could learn from others of it.

The iſſue of the battell was, that Prince Rupert made ſo brave a charge, that he routed Fairfax's left wing, which was commanded by Ireton, who made a ſoldierly and notable defenſe. But Cromwell falling upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the left wing, (and in whoſe body there were ſome trivial, but pernicious, diſputes, betwixt him and the Commander of the Newark-horſe) that wing was ſoon routed; and then he applying himſelfe unto the aſſiſtence of the main body of his army, which was then engaged with the King's main body, he entirely carried the day, and made a very great ſlaughter. And after this day, wee may ſay the King's whole party fell into convulſive fitts, or made ſtrong motions, which were but indications of a dying body. For not long after, Bridgewater, and Briſtol, and the Weſtern garriſons fall into Fairfax's hands,

The iſſue of this battell.

hands: and Pomfret, and Scarborough, and Weſt-Cheſter, (where the King received in perſon another kind of defeat, and where Lord Bernard Steward, then Earle of Litchfield, who commanded the King's Guards, was unfortunately ſlain) ſoon yeilded. And all places, like ripe figgs without pulling, fall into the eater's mouth: ſo diſaſterous are the conſequences of a great battell loſt.

The King goes to Newark.

And now the King, like a hunted partridge, flitts from one garriſon to another, untill he comes to Newark; and there he meets with an hitherto unſuſpected Governor, Sir Richard Willis, a Gentleman ſtout enough, and ſoldier enough; and one, who by the downright proofe of the intelligence he held with Cromwell, when his preſent Majeſtie was abroad, might warrant a credulity, that the irreverence, he now ſhewed to his Majeſtie, flowed not from an ill intelligence with the Lord Digby, but from a diſloyalty. And that which wounded the King moſt in this inſolent action, was, that thro' the heat of paſſion and the ill underſtanding betwixt the Lord Digby and the Prince, the Prince was engaged to countenance Willis's inſolence towards him. But ſo great are the tranſports of paſſion, that they

they too often blind very good understandings; and it was a very great impatience and forgetfulnes of duty in the Prince; for the King's condition was properer to have begot compassion in an enemy, than to have raised neglect in so near a kinsman and dependent. But the King was so gracious and just, that he ever related this action, as passion in the one, and defection in the other. However the King removed Willis, and gave his charge to Colonel Bellasis: and the Prince, Willis, and Hawley retired to a neighbouring garrison, and sent for pass-ports from the enemy to transport themselves by. The Lord Digby hereupon at this time finding in how ill a posture the King's affairs were, and how ungratefull he himselfe was unto the soldiery, entred upon a romantick design with a small body of horse, to march into Scotland to the assistence of the Earle of Montross, that most brave loyall Scot, who to admiration did defeat so many of the Scots rebells, and clear so much of the country, that like Elijah's discovery of the true Church, where the Prophet thought, that there were scarse any true worshippers but himselfe, there were found 7000 knees or loyall faithfull in Scotland, who had never

Lord Digby's design of going into Scotland to joyn

the Earle of Montross.

bowed unto Baal: which I ſet down for the honour of that Nation: and had his Majeſtie's affairs bin proſperous in England, ſuch a ſunſhine would have diſcovered a great many more ſuch worthy perſons, who for a time lay as ſo many undiſcernible atoms in that Northern air. But the Lord Digby's deſign (tho' he did perchance, as much as any man could have done) evaporated: for he is beaten at his entrance into Yorkſhire: and before he got to Carliſle, defeated, and ſo forced to ſhip himſelfe for Ireland inſtead of Scotland. Afterwards he followed his preſent Majeſtie's fortune beyond ſea: where both among the French and Spaniſh Miniſters he got ſpeedily great credit; but being ſuperrefined, held it not long.

Lord Digby defeated.

His character. He affected Aſtrology, which I take to be fatall to moſt, , that do ſo; for it too often draws them off from duty, by ſuppoſing their deſtiny inevitable, and brings them in the condition of neceſſary animals, who were created to be voluntary agents. But his skill in this art failed him likewiſe; for it made him deſpond of his preſent Majeſtie's return, at a time, when he was near his reſtitution; and ſo changing his religion in compliance with Don John of Auſtria, he

he incapacitated himſelfe for that publick employment or office of Secretary of State, which formerly he had held, and certainly would have had again. He held to the old diſtinction betwixt the Church of Rome and the Court of Rome, entitling himſelfe to the firſt. But tho' he had formerly written very learnedly and ſolidly in maintenance of our religion to his kinſman, Sir Kenelm Digby; yet after his change he never anſwered his own polemicks. And I heard from thoſe, that were often with him in his laſt ſicknes, that it was not perceived, that he had either Prieſt of that creed or of ours to adminiſter to him: yet he was obſerved to be very devout and frequent in prayer.

The King returns to Oxford.

And now after all theſe diſturbances at Newark; the King was forced to run the riſque of a journey to Oxford: in which on the highway the Captain-Lieutenant of his own troop, one Turberveil, a good ſtout, plain downright, ſoldierly Gentleman, (under whom I troop'd for ſome time) was forc'd with a party of his men to engage the enemy, who were in purſuit of the King; and in this engagement the Captain loſt his life, as well as ſome others of his common troopers. With this difficulty and danger the King got to Oxford, but ſoon

perceived, that he could not long find ſecurity there.

French negotiations. Throughout all theſe tranſactions the French wanted not their Ambaſſadors, Envoys, private Spies, and Agents among us. How well affected they were to the priviledges of Parliament, thoſe Lords and Gentlemen know, whom the King would have accuſed, and brought unto a legall tryall, for correſponding with the French Ambaſſador.

Prince de Harcourt. How carefull Prince de Harcourt was at Oxford, to perſwade the King to agree with his two Houſes, (his Maſter being ſo carefull of his own States) and to inſinuate himſelfe into their favour, by putting ſlights upon the King and his Miniſters there; and yet willing to receive a preſent ſuitable to his quality, thoſe, that knew leaſt of the King's affairs, know this.

The King goes into the Scotch army. How the Envoy, Mr. Montreville, averred it in his Maſter's name, that if the King would put himſelfe into the hands of the Scots, he ſhould be there ſafe both in perſon, honour, and conſcience, (I know it, as having bin deſign'd to be one, that ſhould attend his Majeſtie thither) is certain; and that this aſſurance fixt him upon this reſolution more, than any thing elſe, is unqueſtionable.

But

But improſperity is alwayes in confuſion; and it was ſafeſt for the King to go unattended. So as in April 1646 the King puts himſelfe into a diſguiſe, and onely with Mr. Hudſon (a Miniſter, as his guide) and Mr. John Aſhburnham, Groom of his Bedchamber, as an attendant, he quitts Oxford, and comes on a ſudden into the Scotch army.

The King leaves Oxford, and goes to the Scotch army.

The two Houſes underſtanding his departure from Oxford, and fearing, he was come up to London, they declare, that if any perſon ſhould harbour or conceal him, or conceal his concealment, he ſhould be proceeded againſt, as a traytor to the commonwealth, and forfeit his whole eſtate, and dye without mercy.

The Scots ſeemed ſurpriſed at his coming among them, and uſe him very courſly, but yet with ſome ſhew of civility; and tho' Montreville averrs as before, yet the King complained, they had kept none of thoſe terms he was promiſed. For tho' he was ſeemingly free, yet his perſon was under a guard, and for his honor this guard was not given him; becauſe they permitted not the Magiſtrates to do their duty to him in thoſe places he paſſed thro'; nor did they as much as admit his own neceſſary

How he is dealt with by them.

ſervants about him; and for his conſcience, they that pretended to fight for their own, denyed liberty to his; he being not to be hearken'd unto in any propoſition for peace, upon leſs terms, than the Covenant. The Parliament ſends to the Scots, that the King's perſon might be diſpoſed of, as the two Houſes ſhould direct. But Newark being ſurrendred by the King's command upon honourable conditions, the Scots march away with the King to Newcaſtle, and to pleaſe their brethren in England, they got his Majeſtie's directions for the ſurrendring the few remaining garriſons in England, as Oxford, Worceſter, Wallingford, *Litchfield*, Ragland, *&c.* and the like they obtain'd for themſelves unto Montroſs; but he good Gentleman was, ere the orders came to him, defeated by Leſley; ſo as the King had much ado (tho' he uſed therein the intereſt both of Hamilton and his brother Lanerick) to divert a proceſs againſt him for his life, and to obtain, that he might be an exile; and this was the moſt he could do for any of his party, for whom he was ever much concern'd.

The Scots march away with the King to Newcaſtle.

Whilſt the King reſided at Newcaſtle, paſſed that conference between him and Henderſon about the order of epiſcopacy, and

The King's conference with Henderſon.

and what obligation his Coronation-oath laid upon him. Which papers, being printed, ſhew his great ability and knowledge, when he was deſtitute of all aids. But whilſt the King was thus employed, the Scots knew ſo well how to value him, that if it be not admitted, they ſold him, it muſt be confeſt, they parted with him for a good price; for they are paid 200000 *l.* upon their marching from Newcaſtle, and delivering up of that town, as likewiſe Berwick, and Carliſle; and are promiſed 200000 *l.* more to be ſecured upon the publick faith. But if the Engliſh army had bin left to themſelves, and the Presbyters had not then bin prevalent in Parliament, the Independent party would ſoon have ſhortned the taylor's bill. And thus were extinguiſhed or thus vaniſht thoſe loud and publick aſſertions the Scots had made, *that they would not do ſo baſe an act, as to render up their Prince's perſon, who was come to them for ſafety in ſo great a danger; and that this act could not conſiſt with their duty or allegiance, or Covenant, or with the honour of their army; it being contrary to the law and common practice of all Nations, in caſe even of private men.* Which Lowdon their Chancellor publickly made

The Scots ſell the King.

profeſſion of at a conference of the two Houſes at Weſtminſter. But at laſt ſilver outweighed all theſe conſiderations, and the King is delivered up into the hands of the two Houſes Commiſſioners, and brought to Holmby-houſe in Northamptonſhire, and denied his own Chaplains and Servants to be about him: (a true Presbyterian ſpirit.)

and

deliver him up into the hands of the Commiſſioners of the two Houſes.

Now the remainder of his time, which was above two years, was to be ſpent in impriſonments and treaties, and that barbarous way of tryall, they put upon him for his life, by a mock High-court of Juſtice, which may be called the fifth ſtage of his life: wherein wee may obſerve, not onely what befell him, but what befell the firſt deſigners againſt him; whether they were the innovating Lords and Gentry, or the Presbyterian Miniſters, or Aſſembly of Divines, or the city of London, or the chiefe Perſons in the army of Eſſex; or even thoſe particular ſervants of his own, who had bin ſpyes upon him, and betrayed him, whilſt they were in his ſervice; and at laſt alſo the inſpired ſeraphick Independent: and after his death, how the judgment run into Scotland and Ireland, and fell upon the betrayers of him, and upon the innovators on the conſtitution

The King now no other than a Priſoner.

of

of Government in both thoſe Nations: nay at laſt, how it reacht the army it ſelfe. And thus how every one of their infidelities brought upon them and their party a viſible diſappointment and judgment from God, this preſent time well knows, tho' the former could not foreſee.

The Scots being marcht away from Newcaſtle, the King is left in the hands of the Engliſh Commiſſioners, who carry him to Holmby-houſe, rather as their Priſoner, than their Prince, and when he came thither, he had neither the attendance of his own domeſtick Servants, Chaplains, or Liturgy of the Church; under all which he very unconcernedly and majeſtically deported himſelfe, as being above complaints or bewailings, as he himſelfe was pleaſed to tell me. And tho' he had from thoſe Lords and Gentlemen, that attended him, a reſpect, which exceeded not his preſent condition, yet he paſſed it by; however he diſtinguiſht the duty of Sir John Holland, Sir John Cook, and Major-Generall Brown from thoſe, who leſs obſerved him; tho' even theſe had entertained an office, which unbecame Gentlemen of free minds. And for their Divines or Chap-

The King at Holmby-houſe.

Chaplains, the King uſed them civilly, and convers'd with them friendlily, as private men, but would not let them ſay ſo much as Grace to him; ſince they refuſed to officiate to him by the Liturgy; and this was his ſtate there. But whilſt the Eccleſiaſtick and Civil Presbyterian in the Aſſemblies and two Houſes were thus acting upon him, the Independent Miniſters and the army were as buſy in their deſigns againſt them. For ſoon after, Goodwin, and Nye, and the reſt of that Independent-gang, who not long before had dolefully, but ſeemingly, bewailed themſelves, that they could not comply with the Directory and the new-intended model of Church-government, agreed to be ſet up by the Aſſembly of Divines; and therefore were they to be ſequeſtred, nor knew they how to decline their calling, or quitt their country, do now on a ſudden give a law to their late Rulers. The army, who a little before had bin voted to be diſbanded, (and for whom Cromwell gave all the aſſurance under the aſſeveration, that he ſpake in the preſence of God, that he knew they would obey) do now take fire, and raiſe a new ſort of officers, who were choſen out of every regiment, and are called *Agitators*; and they

The Independent party, now prevailing, ſhew themſelves.

Agitators.

they frequently meet in council, and from Bury, the then quarters, rendevous themſelves about Newmarket. And at the ſame time the Parliament having voted the King to be brought up to London, they immediately ſend a ſmall officer, Cornet Joyce, with a ſmall party to ſeize on his Majeſtie's perſon at Holmby: (the Commiſſioners ſignified nothing: the guards at Holmby were not forward to make any reſiſtence: the King required Joyce to ſhew his Commiſſion, he ſhewed his ſoldiers; the King replyed, *Beleive me, your inſtructions are written in a very legible character.* Nay at Royſton Fairfax and Cromwell wait on the King both together. He asks them, whether they commiſſioned Joyce to remove him: they deny it, *I'le not believe you*, ſays the King, *unleſs you hang him*) who executed his charge ſo well, that he brought away the King to Royſton in the armie's quarters.

The King ſeized by Cornet Joyce.

To make ſhort work, the army purges the Houſe of Commons: and the Generall and his Officers impeach in Parliament eleven of the cheife Members, who began all the innovations upon the King and laws, and were now, as the army charged them, overthrowing the laws; *viz.* Hollis, Lewis, Waller, Staple-

Eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons impeached by the Army.

Stapleton, Clotworthy, Maynard, Maſſey, Glyn, Nicholas, Ernly, and Long; and all this for things done by them in the Houſe of Commons: tho' both Fairfax and Cromwell made it a great reaſon to rebell againſt the King, for his having formerly legally indicted in the King's Bench ſome of theſe Gentlemen, who were his ſubjects, for ſeditious words ſpoken in Parliament. Thus they think it no crime in them to impeach their Maſters, (for ſo the Parliament was) for things ſaid and done by them in the Houſe. And after this, they demand the militia of London to be put into the hands of perſons better affected to the army; and the Londoners are neceſſitated to plead their charters for the ſame from the King and his Predeceſſors; ſo as to their ſhame they, that had bin ſo deſperately rebellious againſt the crown, now take ſanctuary under it. And thus both Houſes ſoon found, of how little value unarm'd authority is with an armed army; and they that were late agents are become patients, and are taught, that puniſhment is the anagram of ſin, or may be read in it; for like Adonibezek, they that were lately cutting off thumbs and toes, are now the ſame way loſing them.

In

In the concluſion, London humbly ſubmits, and Fairfax and Cromwell march thro' it, and the eleven impeached Members are forced to fly; and Stapleton carries along with him, or met on ſhip-board with the plague, and dyes of it at Calais, to the great terror of his collegues. And if this be not God's finger or his hand-writing upon the wall, it is hardly to be reckoned, whoſe character it was. The impeached Members fly.

The deep and bloody-hearted Independent all this while uſed the King very civilly, admit ſeverall of his ſervants, and ſome of his Chaplains, to attend him, and to officiate by the Service-book. The behaviour of the Independents toward the King.

They brought him firſt to the army to Royſton or thereabout; then they remove him to Hatfield, the Earle of Saliſbury's houſe: then to Latimer, and Woborn, and Cauſham, the Earle of Craven's houſe, near Reading; for as they removed their quarters, he was to change his. At Cauſham I had the honour to come into his preſence, tho' I ſtaid not there; but by all I could perceive either from himſelfe or any other, he was very apprehenſive, in what hands he was, but was not to let it be diſcerned. Nor had he given that countenance unto Dr. Taylor's *liberty of Propheſying*, which The King removes from place to place.

ſome

ſome beleived he had; but that really and truly it was refreſhment to his ſpirit, to be uſed with ſome civility, and to ſerve God, as he was wont, and to ſee ſome old faces about him. It is very credible, he did beleive, that the army would not be able to ſtemm the tide both of their old Maſters, the Presbyterians, and of his own party, who were conſiderable and numerous, tho' then under the hatches, or lay under ſequeſtrations. But tho' the army and its party were but an inconſiderable body to all thoſe, that thro' the Kingdom were diſſatisfied with them; yet they were the men, that had got the helm into their hands; which *tho' it* be one of the leaſt pieces of timber in the ſhip, yet turnes the great beams or whole body, as the ſteers-man pleaſes.

At laſt brought to Hampton-Court.

At laſt they remove the King to Hampton-Court, and there they permit him to be attended by perſons, worthy of his preſence: as James, Duke of Richmond, his near kinſman; a moſt excellent, loyall, prudent, and religious perſon; one who had attended his Majeſtie throughout all this warr, and loſt therein his three brave brothers, the Lord Aubigny, Lord John, and the Lord Bernard, Earle of Litchfield; one at Edgehill, the

ſecond

ſecond at Alresford, and the third at Cheſter. And hither came that great man, the Duke of Ormond, and thoſe two ſteddy perſons to the crown, Marquiſs of Hertford and the Earle of Southampton. The two Emiſſaries betwixt the King and the army were Sir John Berkley (now Lord Berkley) and Mr. John Aſhburnham. The reſt were, Dr. Sheldon, our now preſent Archbiſhop, and Doctor Hammond, then his Chaplains, and two or three of us ſcribling-men of the pen. Here I remember both the Parliament and the Army addreſs to him; and it was that, which exerciſed all heads what to reply, or whom to pleaſe. The Parliament's propoſitions were in effect the ſame they firſt made to him at Newcaſtle; the armies ſeem'd to have more moderation towards him and his party. The one was thought more rigid; the other was feared more deceitfull; for when theſe two before mentioned Gentlemen (who moved betwixt the King and the army) were deſired to declare, whether the army had given the King any ſuch tye upon them, that if they proved unfaithfull, they might by ſome obligation they had given be proved perfidious, that ſo neither his Majeſtie, nor thoſe about him might appear to the world too credulous:

no

no ſuch thing could be produced. For Cromwell (wee need not mention Fairfax, who was but nominally Generall) tho' he made great profeſſions towards the King and his party unto theſe two Gentlemen; yet he kept himſelfe ſtill in the dark, making it his great difficulty, rather how to govern his Agitators, that they interrupted not his own good meaning towards the King, than that he was in any backwardnes to procure reaſonable terms for him. Thus being in the armie's hands, and the Houſes propoſitions no better, and joyned in by the Scotch Commiſſioners, (for the Earle of Lauderdale and Sir Charles Erskin accompanied in the preſenting them) his Majeſtie and thoſe about him thought it moſt prudent rather to countenance the Army, than the Parliament. But no ſooner had he done this, but Cromwell [good ſoul!] ſeems not able to withſtand the torrent of theſe Agitators. Whereupon the King muſt be frighted, that theſe men would not obey the ſuperior Commanders, and were like to ſeize upon his Majeſtie, and murder him: and Cromwell pretended the King's hearkening to the Scots made his army no longer hearken to him; but this was falſe; for the Scots were then rigorous to

their

their Covenant, which the King abhorred. If at any time they tempted him, it was, when he was a priſoner in Carisbrook-caſtle: but before that, I dare ſay he had not the leaſt thoughts, that they would own him.

It came not within my knowledge, who gave the counſell for his flight, or what was reſolved about it; but by one that did know it, I had it at that time communicated to me, before he went away, and perchance with too much imprudence. I could not concurr, for his making a mean (ſince it was like to be a dangerous) flight. But being carried off by Mr. John Aſhburnham, Sir John Berkley, and Mr. William Legg onely; the next wee heard of him was, that he was in Carisbrook-caſtle in the Iſle of Wight, where his terms certainly were not beforehand made; for when the two firſt of the above-named Gentlemen had lodg'd the King at Titchfield, with the Earle of Southampton's mother, they acquainting that faithleſs man, (as he proved afterwards) Colonel Hammond, the Doctor's nephew, Governour of that Iſland, that his Majeſtie was in that neigbourhood, and that if he might be ſafe with him, he would render himſelfe up to him; which he heſitating

The King retires privately from Hampton-Court:

and goes to the Iſle of Wight.

upon, they would have retired; but he would not let them both go, to advertiſe the King of that kind of inſignificant complement he made; which was, that if he came thither, he would obſerve the Parliament's directions about him, unles Mr. Aſhburnham would remain with him; and Legg onely to carry the meſſage. But Aſhburnham not readily offering himſelfe, the Governour reſolved to go in perſon to the King. Upon their return with the Governour in company, the King was much amazed, that upon ſo ill terms he was thus diſcovered; but now upon no further aſſurance he muſt truſt himſelfe with him. I never had occaſion but once at the Iſle of Wight to ſpeak with the King about this affair; and it was by an accident, or the King's letting himſelfe into that diſcourſe: and he did but touch upon it, nor durſt I ſeem to be more inquiſitive. But when I mentioned, that the world had an ill opinion of my friend Mr. Aſhburnham's guiding him thither, I remember, he freely replyed, *I do no way believe, he was unfaithfull to me; but I think he wanted courage at that time*; (which I interpreted, his Majeſtie meant his not ſtaying with the Governour) *whom I never knew wanted it before.*

If

If it be lawfull to conjecture at an affaire of this nature, the chooſing this place did not ariſe from a beleife either of the King or Mr. Aſhburnham in the Governour, but from the failing of ſome ſhip there expected. But it may be admitted, that they might think, the Officers of the army would be true to him, when his Perſon was out of the power of being apprehended by the Agitators. And too too probably his Majeſtie wearied with the thoughts of the French's having caſt him into the hands of the Scots, who had uſed him no better, and of the unconcernednes of other Princes in his caſe, and of the Scotch and Engliſh Presbyterians remorſeleſnes towards him, like a ſick man, he was willing to change his bed, and ſee, whether it would better his condition; and I am induced to credit this, becauſe the King had given his word to Cromwell, and his gaoler, Colonel Whalley at Hampton-Court, (and Whalley was a ridiculous Phanatick, as well as a crackt-brain'd fellow, tho' he was a Gentleman of a good family, of which ſort of men they had very few among them) and the King by Aſhburnham very few dayes before his flight diſcharged himſelfe of this engagement; which (if Whalley had not bin directed otherwiſe, he Whalley.

would ſoon have lain hold on him, (for he wanted not the rudenes or the ill nature) and have put it out of his power to have eſcaped. But if it were ſo, ſurely it was a fatall credulity, that, ſince during the whole time he was in their hands, the King's Miniſters could never draw from Cromwell and his Officers (who pretended kindnes to him) any ſuch promiſe of ſecurity under their hands or before witneſſes: which if violated could amount to an accuſation againſt them: afterwards, when he was out of their hands, he ſhould freely put himſelfe into their power again, which as it hath heretofore bin my amazement, now requires my ſilence.

The deportment of the ſeverall parties toward the King.

For a time wee will leave him thus immured, and obſerve, how all parties in the future deport themſelves towards him: and only relate, that whilſt he was here, Sedgwick, a great Presbyterian Miniſter, came, and would needs expound to him part of the Revelations, and held him ſo late in the night, that the King civilly thanking him for his good will and pains, prayed him to conclude, and go to bed; for he muſt needs want ſleep after ſuch a journey.

The

The bloody Independents draw the curtain, and ſhew, how tragicall their deſign had bin from the beginning. There are no words in the army, but that the King had bin a man of blood, and therefore muſt be proſecuted to blood. Cromwell and his officers ſeem much awed by Harriſon and his zealots, and part of the army is in an uproar; but a mutining trooper or two being laid hold on, and let blood, and ſome leſſer officers caſheired, this ſoon quieted that diſtemper.

The King deſires, that he might be admitted to come up, and perſonally treat with his two Houſes at London: the Scots countenance and aſſiſt that deſire. But the reſolution of the two Houſes and Army is to ſend the King four Bills, which he ſhould firſt grant, as preliminaries unto a Treaty. The effect of them was, tho' not in plain terms, to diveſt himſelfe and his Heirs of the Militia by ſea and land, and to lodge this power in the two Houſes; with power to raiſe, what monyes they pleaſed to ſupport it; and that the two Houſes might have power to adjourne themſelves, as they pleaſed. The conſequence whereof is too well known to be deſcanted upon. The other two Bills were of no difficulty to have

The four Bills ſent to the King, whilſt in hold.

bin granted: *viz.* The recalling all his Majeſtie's former Declarations, *&c.* and incapacitating thoſe Peers, made ſince his Majeſtie's quitting the Parliament from ſitting therein. The Scotch Commiſſioners here highly oppoſe all this, and tamper with the King to do ſo likewiſe: and the Lord Lauderdale ſends him a letter, intimating, that whilſt he ſtudied to ſatisfie all, he ſatisfied none. And thus this poor Prince is toſſed from poſt to pillar, diſtracted by all, but really dealt with by none.

The Scotch Commiſſioners with the King at the Iſle of Wight.

At laſt the Scotch Commiſſioners getting admittance to him in the *Iſle* of Wight with the Engliſh, it is ſuppoſed, they gave him the aſſurance, that in his behalfe they would enter the kingdom of England with a good army, and this made him ſo unwilling to diſown them: (as hath bin before taken notice of, even when their army under Duke Hamilton was defeated.)

In truth there was no way to reſtore the true peace of this Kingdom, but by returning to the ſame ſtate, which they had before overthrown. But this was *durus ſermo*; pride (beſides many other conſiderations) making them too haughty to acknowledge guilt, and guilt making them too cautious to run into danger; and

and neither Engliſh nor Scotch Presbyters had ſo much confidence in each other, as to lay ſome probable deſign of oppoſing the army: (now the common enemy) nor had they a mind to incorporate with the King's party, nor policy or courage enough ſo to joyn with one another, as probably fortunately to oppoſe the armies conſpiracy againſt both: (for the Presbyterians were ſubtile and reſolute rebells againſt none, but the King) all which diſtractions made more for the ſecurity of the army, than did their own power. And therefore by their prevalence Votes of no further Addreſſes to the King are extorted from the two Houſes, with a Declaration, that they will receive no more Meſſages from him. And the Army declares, that they will joyn with the two Houſes in ſetling the kingdom without the King, and againſt him, or any other, that ſhall hereafter partake with him.

Votes of no further addreſſes to the King.

The undaunted indefatigable King's party and many new ones, who had never hitherto ſhewn themſelves of that party, or had any ſhare in the former calamities or dangers, perceiving no body would joyn with them, uſe their heads, how they might employ their hands in delivering their impriſoned Prince. And

Petitions to the Houſes, for accommodating with the King.

therefore ſeverall Counties by Petitions unto the two Houſes accompanied by many, and ſubſcribed by multitudes, own the King even in this calamity: for his cauſe made them commiſerate his perſon, and his perſon made them willing to adventure themſelves for his cauſe.

Severall attempts to deliver the King.

The Apprentices in London have a raſh tranſport of zeale, and meet in great numbers, and their word is, *For God and King Charles*; but being unarmed and undiſciplined, are ſoon diſperſt. Colonel Powel and Langhorn, who had ſerved the Parliament, defect from them, and raiſe a cloud, which *Cromwell* had great apprehenſion of; for they were in Wales numerous; and Colonel Powel and Sir John Owen were both up at the ſame time; but Cromwell himſelfe in one part, and ſome ſtrong parties ſent into other parts, rout all theſe. The County of Eſſex petition, that the army may be paid off and disbanded, and the King treated with. Surrey follows their example: but being interrupted, and preſſing to deliver their petition, even in Weſtminſter-Hall, and upon the ſtairs, that go up to the Houſe of Commons, at leaſt ten of the Surrey-men were wounded by the ſoldiers; ſo as this uſage

uſage ſhewed, what right the Houſe of Commons thought the ſubject had to petition them in numbers; and an inclination there was in moſt of the Counties of England to have done the like; but the uſage of Surrey terrifies them.

The Scots raiſe an army to enter England.

About this time it is well known, that Duke Hamilton was raiſing a very conſiderable army in Scotland: whereupon the Commiſſioners of Derby-houſe, who were a body of the choiſe and ſelect Members of both Houſes, *viz.* the never-failing Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick, Mancheſter, the Lords Say, Wharton, Roberts, Sir Henry Vane, ſenior and junior, Sir William Ermin, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Cromwell, Nathanael Fiennes, William Pierpoint, Oliver Saint-John, Mr. Crew, Brown, and Wallop, a mixt body of Presbyterians and Independents: all theſe ſit as the Councill of State; and they had cajolled the city of London, and put it under Skippon's command to ſecure it.

The Kentiſh inſurrection.

Fairfax and Cromwell were then intending to march northward with their army; and being advanced a day or two's march, and no more; moſt unſeaſonably, and conſequently moſt un-

unluckily, the Kentiſh-men riſe in ſo numerous and armed a body, that the army was forced to march back. Upon whoſe approch, and by ill conduct, it was not long, before they were diſperſt; and Sir Charles Lucas, with the Lord Capell, and the Lord Louborough, and Sir George Liſle, were in the like poſture in Eſſex, but not numerous, yet good ſoldiers; being about 3000 ſtrong, with thoſe few forces, the Lord Norwich brought over with him, as the debris of the Kentiſh army, whereof he had the conduct, and whereof he gave but an ill account; in which action his loyalty was untainted, but its ill ſucceſs could not keep it from being vulgarly queſtioned. Theſe Fairfax knew to be good ſoldiers, and therefore was very apprehenſive of them. The Eſſex-men, tho' overpow'red, and being but a handfull to the army, yet made a ſharp diſpute nigh Colcheſter in the open field or upon paſſages, and were beaten into Colcheſter; which they defended for ſome good time: and the weather being very rainy, it rotted divers of Fairfax's men; and had coſt him more, had not the proviſion and ſhelter, the country brought in to him, made him ſo well ſtruggle with that difficulty; and tho' the town

Colcheſter ſiege.

at

at laſt was yeilded upon condition of ſafety unto the priſoner's lives; yet barbarouſly they condemned Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, with a forrain brave Gentleman, Sir Bernard Gaſcoin, to be ſhott to death. The firſt two ſuffered, the laſt was pardoned. At this time likewiſe a good part of the Navy-royall under Captain Batten, formerly Viceadmirall unto the Earle of Warwick, revolted to the Prince of Wales, now his preſent Majeſtie, who with the Duke of York, (who not long before eſcaped out of England) and Prince Rupert, and divers other Lords, come on board him, and Sandwich, Deal, and other caſtles were yeilded up, and the Prince anchors in the Downs; and here he ſeizes on ſuch merchant-ſhips as came in, and writes to the Houſe of Lords to admit a Treaty with his Father: but ſtanding in need of proviſion, when Warwick with another ſquadron of ſhips came out, he was forced to ſtand over unto the coaſts of Holland.

The Navy returnes to its duty.

The Earle of Holland at this time with the young Duke of Buckingham and his brave brother, Lord Francis Villiers, who ſhewed a true zeal and undaunted courage, and loſt his life, when Holland and his party would abide no bruſh, from

The Earle of Holland's riſing.

from Kingſton here in Surrey diſorderly making a flying retreat, as far as S. Neod's in Huntingtonſhire, were there meanly taken, and totally diſperſt: for which afterwards Holland loſt his head.

The Scots enter England.

All this being ſo unſeaſonably acted in the South, which if it had bin deferred, untill Duke Hamilton had marcht into the kingdom with the Scotch army, and Cromwell engaged againſt him, it had certainly made a more conſiderable body for the King, than ever he had. This defeat, as it made way for Hamilton's deſtruction, ſo it may juſtly be ſaid, he pulled it upon himſelfe: for having incommunicable and clandeſtine deſigns, he concerted nothing with any of the Engliſh; who thereby judging his deſign onely Presbyterian, and ſo likely to grate as much upon his Majeſtie's honour and conſcience, as all their former proceedings had done, and fearing, that the bottom of the deſign would be but ſome advantage to the Scots upon this nation, they thus precipitately throw themſelves into the miſadventures before recited. And now Cromwell marches againſt Hamilton ſingly; to whom by this time Sir Thomas Glenham, Sir Philip Muſgrave, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale being joyned, they had means to ſeize on

Ber-

Berwick and Carliſle, and they joyn themſelves with Hamilton. Hamilton's army was given out to be 20000 foot, and 6000 horſe; but when they came to their misfortunes, they ſaid, that the Kirk-party had given them ſo many interruptions, that they march in but 10000 foot, and 4000 horſe: whatever they were, they gave a very ſlender account, either of their bravery of courage, or ſolidity of conduct. Hamilton was the Generall, and the Earle of Calender (a man, I knew in Holland, of great repute for a very good ſoldier, being one of the four Scotch Colonels there) was Lieutenant-Generall, and Baily was Major-Generall of the foot, and Middleton commanded the horſe. The beſt body of men they had, they made no uſe of: (ſo powerfull is faction) for Colonel Monro, who came over to their aſſiſtence from Ireland, whoſe men were veteran and experienced ſoldiers, being unwilling to be commanded by Calender, was left behind about Appleby and thoſe parts. Upon a long debate, after Hamilton's army had marched through Cumberland and Weſtmorland, at Kendall (as unfortunate perſons do) they took the worſt counſel, and reſolved their way by Lancaſhire, and not York-

The Scots march through Lancashire.

Yorkshire; tho' one country was known loyall and unanimous for the King's service, but was poor: (as having bin well plundered formerly by the Scots themselves) and the other was a wealthy and a numerous body, and very Presbyteriall; with whom if the Scots had had any private intelligence, the choice of the way of their march had bin well advised; becauſe the country was plentifull, as well as cragged in ſome places, and mooriſh in others: and ſo had they befriended them, Cromwell and Lambert's oppoſition would have bin much more difficult. But the army coming out of Scotland without the Kirk's bleſſing, or at leaſt pretending to do ſo, and all their civill affairs being there ſpirited by the pulpits, there was not found that correſpondence between the Engliſh and Scotch Presbyters in this march in behalfe of the King, which there was in their firſt march, when they came in againſt him. Lambert therefore, who firſt gave interruption to this army's march, had an eaſy task, eſpecially having Cromwell coming up after him: ſo as he for ſome time rather harraſſes this army, than fought it; and let them advance, that they might have the longer way to retreat home; and they made ſo many

many ſeverall and inconvenient halts, that the army moldred from day to day, and often ſeparated their horſe from their foot to their great diſadvantage; and they were aſham'd to go backwards; for ſuch a diſhonorable retreat would have brought them into contempt in their own Country; and if they did ſo, they were ſure to be followed by Lambert and Cromwell.

Why, when all hope was loſt, they retreated not home.

All the brisk fighting that was, was about Wigan, or rather near Preſton: where Langdale with his Engliſh party, with great courage and no ill conduct, engaged with a party of Lambert's men; but not timely releived by the Scots, and overpower'd, and receiving ſome loſs, was forced to a diſorderly retreat into the whole body. At Warrington-bridge their horſe forſook their foot, and their Major-Generall Baily was forced to capitulate for 4000 men, to lay down armes, and ſubmit to mercy. And now, as a new-faſhioned flight, Hamilton with his horſe advances into his enemy's country, inſtead of retreating into his own, and receives a conſiderable loſs about Nantwich in Cheſhire; and ſo goes on ſtumbling, till he came to Utoxeter in Staffordſhire, where he was taken priſoner himſelfe ſo tamely, that it was not known, whe-

The Engliſh and Scotch armies encounter.

Hamilton taken priſoner.

whether it was by the country-troops, or by the Lord Gray of Groby, or by ſome of Lambert's Colonels, ſent to capitulate with him: unto which laſt upon his tryall he intitled himſelfe a priſoner, as moſt for the ſecurity of his life, which with all his ſhifting he could not ſave: tho' he remained priſoner ſo long, that at Windſor his Maſter and he are both priſoners together: and whom he ſaw carried away to be murthered, and not long after himſelfe to be executed; *and what fruit think ye had he then of thoſe things, whereof he was now neceſſarily to be aſhamed?*

Affairs in Scotland.

While this was doing in England, Argile was overthrowing Lanerick, and had beſieged Sterlin-caſtle in Scotland; but Monro comes to the releife of it. And to ſhew, there was ſome truth in the oppoſition of theſe Scotch parties one againſt another, here a good party of Argile's men are ſlain. But Monro making conditions for the arrear of his own and of his men's pay, and for the accommodations, that were to be given him for the tranſport of his men into Ireland: whilſt they were in ſmall companies marching to the ſea-ſide, the news came, that Carickfergus, Belfaſt, and Colrain, (his cheife holds in Ireland) were be-

betrayed by their own officers into the hands of Generall Monk, who then commanded the Engliſh army in Ireland. And thus providence blaſted all the Scotch ſubtilties and intereſts, both in their own country, and in England and Ireland; and Cromwell comes in amongſt them, (for from Wigan he marched forwards into Scotland, and left Lambert to worry Hamilton in England) and here he meets with godly profeſſions, and hath Berwick and Carliſle delivered up to him, and is lookt upon as a *Liberator* of the Kirk.

Now when the King had no earthly hope, the Parliament ſeems to vouchſafe to admit him to a Treaty; and they ſend him Commiſſioners, *viz.* the Earles of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Lord Say, Mr. Pierpoint, Hollis, Vane the younger, Crew, Potts, Brown, and Buckley. The King was admitted to have the Duke of Richmond, the Marquiſs of Hartford, the Earle of Southampton, the Earle of Lindſey, the Biſhop of London Dr. Juxon, the Biſhop of Salisbury Dr. Duppa, Dr. Sanderſon, (afterwards in this King's time Biſhop of Lincoln) Dr. Henchman, late Biſhop of London, Dr. Morley, after his Majeſtie's return Biſhop of Worceſter, and ſince

The Treaty at the Iſle of Wight.

Biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſome other Divines: Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Geffrey Palmer, Sir Thomas Rieves and Dr. Duck, Civilians: Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Oudart, and my ſelfe. But the King's Lords and Gentlemen onely ſtood about his chair, but were not to ſpeak a word in his aſſiſtence; whilſt he ſingly diſputed with all the before mentioned able men upon the ſeverall heads of their propoſitions. But if at any time the King found himſelfe in need to ask a queſtion, or that any of his Lords thought fit to adviſe him in his eare to heſitate, before he anſwered, he himſelfe would retire into his own chamber; or one of us penmen, who ſtood at his chair, pray'd him from the Lords to do ſo: but more liberty, than this, his attendants were not allowed. And I remember, on one day he over-did himſelfe; and it was upon the great article, Whether he or the Parliament began the warr, and in effect at whoſe door the blood ſhould lye? The King would have extinguiſhed the whole diſcourſe by Acts of Oblivion to both ſides, or by taking an equall ſhare: *viz.* by expreſſing, that jealouſies had abruptly and unfortunately caſt them both into this engagement, and by Acts of Indemnity would

would have ſecured all. But where moſt guilt was, there was moſt difficulty to ſatisfie; and by no means they would wave the explanation of this article. The King retiring into his chamber, I took the confidence to ſtep to my Lord Northumberland, and ſay to him, *My good Lord, remember, how gracious this good Prince hath bin to you, and do you compaſſionate his diſtreſſes and the ſtrait, he is now in:* and he civilly, but poſitively, reply'd, *Sir, in this it is impoſſible for me to do any thing; for the King in this point is ſafe as King: but we cannot be ſo.* Two replies, which the King made to two Gentlemen that day, were obſervable: the one to a Gentleman, who is now a Lord, who preſt ſomewhat upon him hardly: *A good nature, Sir,* (ſays he) *would not offer this you ſay; nor is it true Logick:* and then made another kind of ingenious reply unto Mr. Buckly, (who was a Gentleman of that Iſland, and now a Commiſſioner, when he pray'd the King to make right uſe of this Treaty, having promiſed him, that if a Treaty could be procured for him, the malice of the devil ſhould not be able to break it:) *Conſider,* (ſay's he) *Mr. Buckly, if you call this a Treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the Comedy; where the man comes out, and*

ſay's, there has bin a fray and no fray: and being asked, how that could be, why, (ſay's he) there hath bin three blowes given, and I had them all. Look therefore, whether this be not a parallel caſe. Obſerve, whether I have not granted abſolutely moſt of your propoſitions, and with great moderation limited onely ſome few of them: nay conſider, whether you have made me any one conceſſion, and whether at this preſent moment you have not confeſt to me, that tho' upon any propoſition you were all concurrently ſatisfied, yet till you had remitted them up to your ſuperiors, you had not authority to concurr with me in any one thing.

Theſe were but the ſlighteſt paſſages of his Majeſtie's reaſonings: for thro' the whole Treaty, managing all thus ſingly himſelfe, he ſhewed, that he was very converſant in Divinity, Law, and good reaſon; inſomuch as one day, whilſt I turned the King's chair, when he was about to riſe, the Earle of Salisbury came ſuddenly upon me, and call'd me by my name, and ſaid, *The King is wonderfully improved:* to which I as ſuddenly replied, *No, my Lord, he was alwayes ſo; but your Lordſhip too late diſcern'd it.* The remembrance of theſe things is truly dolefull to me; and therefore I will quitt them the ſooner: nor have I ſet down

down the particular heads of the articles, becauſe both this and all former Treaties were but branches of the firſt 19. Propoſitions, which deſired the King to lay down the ſcepter and the ſword, the purſe and the militia, and to change the whole frame of the Eccleſiaſtical government, and the diſpoſition of all great Offices and other Regalia's and Prerogatives, and lodge them in them; or content himſelfe with the name of King, and to entruſt them with the office: which how tenderly they uſed in behalfe of the ſubject, after they had murdered him, the following ſtory will have occaſion to relate. Every night, when the King was alone about eight of the clock, except when he was writing his own private letters, he commanded me to come to him; and he lookt over the notes of that day's Treaty, and the reaſons, upon which it moved, and ſo dictated the heads of a diſpatch, which from time to time he made concerning this Treaty unto his preſent Majeſtie, then Prince: and this Mr. Oudart, whoſe hand his Majeſtie uſed in thoſe diſpatches, tranſcribed. And I had my own papers, when the King came over, but lent them unto ſome hand, that never reſtored them to me, which hath lamed me much about this Treaty.

The King's owne ſeveral expreſſions.

Some few things, I remember, he ſaid, which ſhewed thoſe eminent Chriſtian virtues in him, which were rarely to be found among any ſort of men, ſcarſe ever among Princes. For about the latter end of the Treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectuall, *I wiſh*, (ſays he) *I had conſulted no body, but my own ſelfe; for then, where in honour or conſcience I could not have complied, I could have early bin poſitive: for with Job I would willinglier have choſen miſery, than ſin.* I never ſaw him ſhed tears but once, and he turned preſently his head away; for he was then dictating to me ſomewhat in a window, and he was loth to be diſcerned; and the Lords and Gentlemen were then in the room, tho' his back was towards them: but I can ſafely take my oath, they were the biggeſt drops, that ever I ſaw fall from an eye; but he recollected himſelfe, and ſoon ſtifled them. When he was preſt by the Parliament-Miniſters, to give way for a ſmall Catechiſm for children; *I will not* (ſays he) *take upon me to determine all theſe Texts you quote are rightly applyed, and have their true ſenſe given them; and I aſſure you, Gentlemen, I would licenſe a Catechiſm at a venture ſooner for men, than I would for children; becauſe they can judge for them-*

themſelves: and I make a great conſcience to permit, that children ſhould be corrupted in their firſt principles. And this was ſpoken unto Stephen Marſhall, of whom I knew by a Gentleman, that was in the ſociety of the Parliament-Commiſſioners, that he was a bloody man in thoſe extemporary prayers, which in his courſe he then made unto thoſe Commiſſioners: (and his ſermons ſhew, how far he was from a true Chriſtian ſpirit) for that Gentleman told me, that there was a great difference of ſpirit betwixt thoſe prayers, which Vines, and thoſe, that Marſhall made. I remember one evening (when I waited on the King with the notes, that paſſed that day, and then ſometimes he would eaſe himſelfe by ſome diſcourſe on the by) his Majeſtie told me, *That he ſhould be like a Captain, that had defended a place well, and his ſuperiors not being able to releive him, he had leave to ſurrender it; but* (he replyed) *tho' they cannot relieve me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me, when they can: elſe I will hold it out, till I make ſome ſtone in this building my tomb-ſtone. And ſo will I do* (ſays he) *by the Church of England.* Another time talking of the unreaſonablenes of the two Houſes propoſitions about the Civill

Hoc ſaxum Manlius defendit, hic cecidit.

government, *Well*, (ſays he) *they will ask ſo much, and uſe it ſo ill, that the people of England will be one day glad to relodge the power they had taken from the Crown, where it is due; and I have offended againſt them more in the things I have granted them, than in any thing, I ever deſign'd againſt them.* Whilſt he was in this durance, Mr. Herbert ſaid, he was wont to write on the backſide of ſome papers theſe or ſome other verſes of this nature:

Fallitur egregio quiſquis ſub Principe credit
Servitium: nunquam libertas gratior extat,
Quam ſub Rege pio. ——

Rebus in adverſis facile eſt contemnere vitam:
Fortiter ille facit, qui miſer eſſe poteſt.

Theſe were the moſt materiall things my memory will ſerve me to recollect, (and God knows, I never intended to write an Hiſtory or Obſervations upon it) of what he ſaid during our ſhort attendance on him in this Iſland.

Other matters relating to the King, mentioned by him.

Things of a leſſer nature were theſe: that obſerving him to drink two parts water and one ſack, I preſumed to ask, how he came to leave French wine, he told me, *They afforded him not good, and*

them

then he thought this the better brewage. Nay, (ſays he) *whilſt I have bin here among them, I have wanted linnen; which tho' I took notice of, I never complained of.* Another time he looking out of his Preſence-chamber window at Newport, I being in the room, he beckoned me, and ſhewed me in the ſtreet an old little crumpling man, and askt, whether I knew him; no, Sir, (ſaid I) I never ſaw him before: *I ſhew him you,* (ſays he) *becauſe that was the beſt companion I had for three months together in Carisbrook-caſtle, where he made my fires.* Methinks, becauſe it ſhews his diſeſteem of a common Court-vice, it is not unworthy the relating of him; that one evening his dog ſcraping at his door, he commanded me to let in Gipſey; whereupon I took the boldnes to ſay, Sir, I perceive you love a greyhound better, than you do a ſpaniell; *Yes,* (ſays he) *for they equally love their maſters, and yet do not flatter them ſo much.* Theſe here ſet down, and ſome other paſſages, which I came to underſtand by the Biſhop of London, Dr. Juxon, his Confeſſor at his death, (which I ſhall mention, when I come to that part of his end) make me conclude with my Lord Bacon, that he was a Prince of thoſe eminent virtues, which uſually gaine not King's re-

renown: *For* (ſays he) *there are few, that can judge of or diſcern the higheſt ſort of virtues; and therefore Princes are commonly famous by the middle ſort of virtues: the higheſt being unintelligible unto the multitude.* I ſhall conclude his ſtory in the Iſle of Wight with a reply to an advertiſement, I gave him about the time the Treaty was ending. I prayed his leave, that I might utter my thoughts concerning his preſent condition in relation to his ſtation in that place: and I told him, *I underſtood the Governour uſually prided himſelfe in ſaying, that the perſon of the King was put into his hands by the Parliament; and that he would obey no directions concerning the ſame, but from the Parliament: Now, Sir,* (ſaid I) *he is like to deſire your leave to go up to them; but if you do, you know, how Major Rolph and other ill ſpirits of the army hang about this place, and what danger it may bring you; your Majeſtie therefore were beſt conſider.* The King replied, *I thank you for your care; but the Governour is grown ſuch a rogue, wee cannot be in worſe hands.* So I preſt it no more; for (tho' not from himſelfe) yet I had privately underſtood, he had at that time an hope to have eſcaped away by ſea: but contrary winds and contrary fortune, or rather pro-

The King deſignes to eſcape by ſea.

providence, made way for all that, which tragically followed.

My Lord Marquiſs Hartford, the Lord Southampton, and the Biſhop of Salisbury, Dr. Duppa, had defired for a fortnight or three weeks ſome leave from his Majeſtie to look after their own buſines, till the Treaty ſhould be reaſſumed; and I askt the like; (which I repented of heartily ſince) and I had the honor to go away with them in their own coach, and wee lay that night at Lettey-Abbey, which was near Southampton, an houſe of my Lord Hartford's; and about three of the clock in the morning, the wind ſitting that way, thoſe of the family or neighbourhood heard drums, and guns, and noiſes from the Iſle of Wight; and too ſoon after, the ſad news came, that Rolph that morning had ſeized on the King's perſon; and I never ſaw him more. But as Tully ſaid, *When I think of dying, it is one of my comforts, that when I part from the dunghill of this world, I ſhall meet Lelius*, or King CHARLES, and all thoſe faithfull ſpirits, that had virtue enough to be true to him, the Church, and the Laws unto the laſt.

Rolph ſeized upon the King.

This Rolph had before tampered with the Clerk of the King's kitchin, one Dou-

The villainous deſigne of Rolph upon the King's life.

Doucett, to poyſon the King; and one Osborn averred, that he knew, that Rolph intended to piſtol him; for which being accuſed, he was indicted; but upon his tryal Serjeant Maynard going that circuit, declared in the Court unto the Grand-Jury-men, that this accuſation, amounting unto treaſon, ought to have had two witneſſes to each fact; but there was but one to each fact, and ſo the Jury found an Ignoramus. Thus uſefull a great Lawyer is ſometimes to a man of great guilt; and thus fortuitouſly about the King's death Maynard was engaged, and more deſignedly in my Lord Strafford's and Lord Capell's: but whether the ſame be his comfort or no, he beſt knows.

The King ſeized on alſo by Ewer.

This flagitious act upon the King in thus ſeizing his perſon by directions from the Army, (for Fairfax had bin wrought upon to give a warrant, whereby Colonel Hammond was commanded to give up the King's perſon unto Colonel Ewer; and Hammond pretended to go up to the two Houſes, about this command, that he might be abſent, when the King was ſeized on) wee may ſay was as diſloyall to their own Maſters, the two Houſes, (for they by a vote

diſ-

diſown'd it) as it was to the King. For at the ſame time the two Houſes were voting, Firſt, that the late conceſſions of his Majeſtie at the Iſle of Wight were a good ground for a peace. Secondly, That his Perſon ſhould be in honor, freedom, and ſafety; and that his Revenue ſhould be free, bearing the uſuall publick charges; and that Acts of Oblivion ſhould be prepared with ſuch exceptions, as ſhould ſeem fit to the two Houſes. But they arrived not at this good nature either to the King or kingdom, until they diſcerned their own impotency, nay mortality; for they perceived themſelves as likely to be dethroned, as was their Prince.

Votes of the two Houſes, in order to the ſetlement of the Nation, too late and ineffectuall.

The Army was now modelling a Government without a King, and without diſtinction of Lords: and therefore to prevent the conjunction of King and Parliament together, they reſolve, that the King ſhould be immediately diſown'd, and his head cut off, and no more Kings acknowledged; that out of every county a choice perſon (that is, one of their party) ſhould be ſelected to frame a new modell of Government, whereby the people of England ſhould be acknowledged the ſovereign power of this land, and other ſtuff of this nature. If this was not

The Army reſolves to take away the King's life.

not to ſubvert the Government, and the old conſtitution of it, (and ſo high treaſon) I know not what can be.

The King carried to Hurſt-caſtle.

Rolph removes in a rude and contemptuous way the King's perſon out of the Iſle of Wight unto Hurſt-caſtle, right over-againſt the ſame; a place, which ſtood in the ſea; (for every tide the water ſurrounded it) and it contained only a few dog-lodgings for ſoldiers, being cheifly deſigned for a platform to command the ſhips. Here they keep him for ſome time; and now here at Weſtminſter Colonel Pride and Rich's regiment, diſcharging thoſe train'd-bands, which were a guard to the Parliament, ſupply their places, and guard them to purpoſe: for they immediately garble their Maſters, and ſeize on at leaſt forty Members, many of them coming unto the Houſe, others dragged out, and carry them to ſeverall nigh Inns, and keep them under guard: and then they accuſe Major-Generall Brown and ninety others, whom they deſired might be ſecluded from the Houſe for having the laſt ſummer invited in the Scots. And this made a great breach in that whole number, and either awed or animated the reſt.

The Houſe of Commons garbled of ſeverall Members.

Now

Now it was time, (for they drove like Jehu) to bring the King nearer to the place of his mock-tryall; and from Hurſt they remove him to Farnham-caſtle, and from thence to Windſor. The two Houſes thus purged, and the King then in their power, it is found a fit ſeaſon for the Army to preſent its new modell of Government to them: which was done by Sir Hardreſs Waller and ſome other Officers: and an Addreſs is likewiſe made, that the King might be brought to tryall. The Lords diſown this way of proceeding, and deny, that the King could commit treaſon againſt the Commonwealth; and becauſe they would not comply with the Commons therein, they adjourn their Houſe for a fortnight; firſt declaring, that no Act of the Commons is binding without their conſent, (and God knows, both together never bound the ſubject generally without the King's conſent) but all now is to be turned topſy-turvy. The Commons as it were meeting with what they wiſht, *viz.* the Lords adjournment: they preſently reak themſelves both upon the King and Lords; for inſtead of an Ordinance of Parliament, as they would have called it, they make a vote of their owne, digeſted into a form, which ſerved to bring the King to tryall; for they would

Their proceedings, in order to the King's tryall.

New modell of govemment.

would not ſtay for the conjunction of the Lords with them; and ſo they defeat the Lords artifice, and make them by their adjournment to defeat themſelves. Thus they proceed ſingly and alone, and not long after vote the Lords Houſe as uſeleſs: and ſome of the Nobility, two of them, *viz.* Salisbury and Pembroke, old and obliged Courtiers, whoſe families owed both their honor and eſtates to the Crown, ſo degenerate, that they go down, and ſit as Commoners with the lower Houſe. But this act of theſe Lords was ſome time after the King's murder.

The King's tryall. By this traiterous and *tumultuous* body the King is brought to his tryall, and removed from Windſor to St. James's, and from thence ſoon brought to Weſtminſter-Hall: where he finds a pretended High Court of Juſtice, conſiſting of a Preſident, one Bradſhaw, (heretofore a very meanly qualified Lawyer, but a bold and ſeditious perſon) and of Cromwell and moſt of his cheife Officers, and ſome of the King's own faithleſs ſervants, as Sir Henry Mildmay, the Lord Mounſon, Sir John Danvers, and Cornelius Holland; (one that had bin Clerk of his kitchin, and was then of the Green-Cloth) the reſt high-flown Parliament-men. Theſe to make their proceedings the more

ſo-

ſolemn, made their Serjeant at Armes in Weſtminſter-Hall, the old Exchange, *&c.* to ſummon in any perſon, that would come and accuſe the King: and then they break his great Seal, and make one of their own, impreſſing upon it the Croſs for England and the Harp for Ireland on the one ſide; and the Houſe of Commons, as the true ſovereigne of this nation on the other: and theſe words about it: *The firſt yeare of Freedome*, &c. 1648. Before this ſort of vile men this good Prince is brought: and injuſtice muſt neceſſarily ſit on the bench, when juſtice is dragged to the barr. The inſolent Preſident bids the King hearken to his charge, and a babbling and braſen-faced Sollicitor, one Cook, accuſeth him *in the name of the Commons of England, and of all the people thereof*, (which God knows was not one of a thouſand) *of treaſon:* charging him, *that by a tyrannicall power he had endeavoured to overthrow the rights and liberties of this people, and to defend himſelfe in his traitorous practice, he had malicioufly levied a warr:* and ſo mentions *ſeverall of the battells, that had been fought, and many ſlaine: and how at that very time his Son was in armes, as likewiſe my Lord of Ormond in Ireland.* The King ſmiled at the foule appellations

of *Tyrant*, *Traytor*, &c. which they gave him, diſowns their authority, and that of their commiſſion: told them, *that he was even at that time in treaty with his two Houſes in order unto a generall peace: as their Sovereign and King, he denied any authority to be over him, but particularly askt, how they came to aſſume it:* bade them *not go from one ſin to another:* told them, *he was not unwilling or unprepar'd to anſwer for what he had done; but he would never anſwer to ſuch a Court.* This for ſome time lay in diſpute betwixt him and the Preſident. The Preſident ſeems to reproch him, that he had forgot his preſent condition, tells him, if he would not anſwer, they would take all *pro confeſſo*; and thus a day or two was ſpent. The King ſtill telling them, *that he pleaded the cauſe of his people, as well as of himſelfe: and therefore deſired to be heard, and that power without law could make no law:* and going on with his reaſons, is interrupted by Bradſhaw. The King bids him remember, that he denyed to hear his King; askt him, *what kind of Court it was, where reaſon could not be heard:* he inadvertently, but with great truth, told him, that *he ſhould find it there.* The King told him, *that his authority was from the Houſe of Commons,*

who

who were never a Court of judicature themſelves, and therefore could not erect it.

But after all, theſe nefarious men, who thirſted after the King's blood, would now brutiſhly ſuck it: ſo they give ſentence upon him to ſever his head from his body. Which ſentence paſſed on ſaturday January 27, 1648: and he is carried back by his Guard unto St. James's. In the paſſage to his tryall, he is mett and reviled by ſome, and tobacco blown in his mouth, and his face ſpitt upon by others. One honeſt ſoldier ſaid but *God bleſs you Sir*, and his Captain caned him; the King told the Captain, *the puniſhment exceeded the offence.* About the barr a numerous rabble cry out for juſtice againſt him, and in the Court he is ſaucily treated by all the Officers.

The King ſentenced to be beheaded.

The King's deportment was very majeſtick and ſteddy; and tho' his tongue uſually heſitated, yet it was very free at this time, for he was never diſcompoſed in mind. And yet as he confeſt himſelfe to the Biſhop of London, that attended him, one action ſhockt him very much: for whilſt he was leaning in the Court upon his ſtaff, which had an head of gold, the head broke off on a ſudden; he took it up, but ſeemed unconcerned;

The King's majeſtick deportment at his tryall.

yet told the Biſhop, *It really made a great impreſſion upon him; and to this hour,* (ſayes he) *I know not poſſibly how it ſhould come.* 'Twas an accident, I confeſs, I my ſelfe have often thought on, and cannot imagine, how it came about: unleſs Hugh Peters (who was truly and really his Gaoler, for at St. James's no body went to him, but by Peters's leave) had artificially tamper'd upon his ſtaff; but ſuch conjectures are of no uſe.

Biſhop Juxon at laſt permitted to attend the King, in order to his preparation for death.

Though he was brought to St. James's by ſaturday noon, and tho' the Biſhop of London was in town, and by their own directions and upon his deſire called thither to attend him in order to the preparation for his death; yet they admitted him not, untill ſunday evening, tho' they murdered him on tueſday. The Biſhop himſelfe told me the manner of his reception. As ſoon as he came in, the King very openfacedly and cheerfully received him: the Biſhop began to make ſome condolement. *Leave off this,* (ſays he) *my Lord, wee have not time for it. Let us think of our great work, and prepare to meet that great God, to whom ere long I am to give an account of my ſelfe; and I hope I ſhall do it with peace, and that you will aſſiſt me therein. We will not talk*

The King's behaviour both before and at the time of his death.

talk (ſays he) *of theſe* rogues, (for that was his term) *in whoſe hands I am; they thirſt after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God, I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more.* And ſo for two or three houres the Biſhop and he conferr'd together; and tho' they ſhut the door, a ſoldier would open it once in halfe a quarter of an hour, and ſee, whether the King was there, and ſo ſhut it again; and then the next day, which was monday, they ſpent much of their time together in like manner: and then they parted late that night, the murther being to be committed the next day. I have this comfort, that of himſelfe, without any occaſion to move him into the diſcourſe, *My Lord,* (ſays he) *I muſt remember one, that hath had relation to you and my ſelfe: tell Charles,* (for ſo he was pleaſed to call the Prince) *he hath bin an uſefull and honeſt man unto me.* He required Mr. Herbert, (a Gentleman, who was appointed to attend him, and who had bin very civill to him and whom he recommended likewiſe to the preſent King) to call him at four of the clock in the morning; and Mr. Herbert ſlept little himſelfe, lying by him on a pallet-bed; but obſerved thro' the whole night, that the King ſlept very

ſoundly, and at his hour awak'd of himſelfe, and drew his curtain. He ſoon got up, was about an hour at his own private devotions, and then called to be dreſt; and Mr. Herbert, who was wont to comb his head, combed it that morning with leſs care than uſually: *Prethee*, (ſays he) *tho' it be not long to ſtand on my ſhoulders, take the ſame paines with it, you were wont to do: I am to be a Bridegroom to day, and muſt be trimm.* Afterwards the Biſhop came in to him, and they were together, untill Hacker led him thro' the park to Whitehall; and one of the Commanders by the way thinking to diſturb him, askt him, whether he were not conſenting to his father's death; *Friend*, (ſays he) *if I had no other ſin, (I ſpeak it with reverence to GOD'S Majeſty) I aſſure thee, I would never ask him pardon.* When he was come to Whitehall, they conveyed him into a room, which is that they now call the *Green-chamber*, betwixt the King's cloſet and his bed-chamber, as I think.

The King receives the bleſſed Sacrament from the hands of the Biſhop.

There they permitted him and the Biſhop to be alone for ſome time; and the Biſhop had prepared all things in order to his receiving the Sacrament; and whilſt he was at his private devotions, Nye and ſome other boldfaced Miniſters knockt

knockt at his door, and the Biſhop going to open it, they told him, they came to offer their ſervice to pray with the King; he told them, the King was at his own private devotions; however he would acquaint him. But the King reſolving not to ſend out to them, they after ſome time had the modeſty to knock again; the Biſhop ſuſpecting, who they were, told the King, it would be neceſſary to give them ſome anſwer: the King replyed, *Then* (ſays he) *thank them from me for the tender of themſelves: but tell them plainly, that they, that have ſo often and cauſeleſly prayed againſt me, ſhall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they pleaſe, (and I'le thank them for it) pray for me.* When he had received the Euchariſt, he roſe up from his knees with a cheerfull and ſteddy countenance: *Now*, (ſays he) *let the* rogues *come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo.* It was a very cold day, and they at Whitehall had prepared two or three diſhes of meat for him to dine upon; but he refuſed to eat any thing; and the Biſhop told me, he reſolved to touch nothing after the Sacrament; but the Biſhop expoſtulated with him, and let him know, how long he had faſted; how ſharp the weather

was; and how ſome fitt of fainting might take him upon the ſcaffold; which he knew he would be troubled at, for the interpretation his murderers would put upon it; which prevail'd with him to eat halfe a manchet of bread, and drink a glaſs of wine: and thus prepared, when he was called, he marcht to the ſcaffold; and a Gentleman of my acquaintance, that had ſo placed himſelfe in Wallingford-houſe, that he could eaſily diſcern all that was done upon the ſcaffold, proteſted to me, he ſaw him come out of the Banquetting-houſe on the ſcaffold with the ſame unconcernednes and motion, that he uſually had, when he entred into it on a Maſque-night. And another Gentleman, whom I'le name, Dr. Farrar, a Phyſician, (a man of a pious heart, but phancifull brain: for this was he, that would have had the King and Parliament have decided their buſines by lot) had gain'd ſuch a place upon the ſtage, that he aſſured me, that as he had obſerved him before very majeſtick and ſteddy; ſo when he had laid down his neck upon the block, he ſtanding at ſome diſtance from him in a right line, he perceived his eye as quick and lively, as ever he had ſeen it.

His

His ſpeech before this unto the people (for me, who relate too many things, to be long upon any, to ſay no more) was very worthy of himſelfe. This part of it became his great wiſdome, when he told them, *They miſtook the nature of government; for people are free under a government, not by being ſharers in it, but by the due adminiſtration of the laws of it.* After having prayed with the Biſhop, and by himſelfe, he ſubmitted cheerfully unto the providence, that was diſpens'd unto him; but he took notice of ſome engines his murderers had made, that in caſe he would not willingly ſubmit, they might by violence have pull'd him down; at which he ſmiled, as if he had bin contented, that they ſhewed the world the barbarity of their natures, and he the equanimity of his own. And indeed I had almoſt omitted one other evidence of it; for the Chapter of the day fell out to be that of the Paſſion of our Saviour; wherein it was mentioned, that *they led him away for envy, and crucified their King:* which he thought had bin the Biſhop's choice; but when he found, it was the courſe of the Rubrick, he put off his hat, and ſaid to the Biſhop, *I bleſs God, it is thus fallen out.* At laſt he

The King's ſpeech to the people worthy of him.

Beheaded. he laid down his head, ſtrecht out his hands, as the ſign, and the Executioner let drop the hatchet, which ſevered it from his body. And thus this Saint and Martyr reſted from his labours, and follows the LAMB.

Another ſhort character of the King. I ſhall conclude with this, if it be lawfull to compare ſmall things with great, his paſſion or manner of death moſt reſembles that of his great Maſter; for like him, he was a King, and a King of that people, that purſued him to his death. He was a King, that reſembled Seneca's refined rational man; one that forfeited with the vulgar, (or the many miſtaking and deceived narrow minds) the repute of being a good man, that he might not loſe to himſelfe the conſcience of being truly ſuch a one. For his principles anſwered to true and ſolid reaſon, and ſuted with divine ordinances; and therefore he was (as in his Hiſtory appears) owned by the perſons of the beſt quality, and of moſt knowledge in his Kingdom, even when he was ſo far from being able to reward, that he was not able to protect either himſelfe or them; and indeed his condition was often ſo low and deſpicable, that as Darius Codomannus ſaid unto his loyall adherents, ſo he might have ſaid

ſaid to his, *You that never forſook me, (tho' I have bin twice overcome, and twice forced to fly) have bin the beſt evidence to my mind, that I remained King, or that misfortune could not dethrone me: ſo as God, not my ſelfe, reward you.* Providence made him glorious: great and good minds will honour him: ignorant not diſcern him: politick (who think a Kingdom ſhould never be loſt upon ſcruples) not value him: but GOD, I am aſſured, hath pardoned his faileurs, and crowned him for his piety and his ſufferings.

MEMOIRES,

OR

REFLEXIONS

ON

The ſtate of Affairs

AFTER

THE KING'S MURDER:

CONTINUED

To the happy Reſtauration

OF

King CHARLES II.

MEMOIRES,
OR
Reflexions on the ſtate of Affairs
AFTER
The King's murder.

WITHOUT further condolement, how inhumanely this good King was butchered, or how obſcurely he ſince lyes interred; (I may ſay, not buried) wee will hence-forward conſider, how prophetically he ſpake, when the firſt Reformers began to take the Government aſunder, which he reſembled to a watch, telling the tamperers with it, that it was eaſy to disjoynt the pieces, but hard to ſet them together again in good order: and ſo it proved.

The proceedings of the two Houſes and Army after the King's murder.

Theſe enterprizing men, that had diſappointed all the policies of their firſt Maſters; (for, as hath bin before expreſſed, there was no Party, but was deceived of their hopes; nor ſcarce any perſon, that began this buſines, but it proved

proved fatall to him) thought now they ſingly moved upon their own center, and were ready in this heighth of proſperity, to conclude they ſhould never be removed. Not reflecting, that as my Lord Northumberland, and my Lord Say, Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Hambden, or the Houſe of Commons and the Houſe of Lords, thought it no ſacriledge to uſurp upon the King: nor Mr. Marſhall and Mr. Nye, nor the Aſſembly of Divines, upon the Biſhops: ſo a new ſuper-refined and enlightned ſort of men, Collonel Harriſon and Rich, might think, they were as little reſtrained from ſnatching the prey from Cromwell and Ireton, and their Servant-Maſters, the now garbled Houſe of Commons. For tho' at firſt all ſeemed of a piece, yet it was not long, but a new ſpirit of Levellers, and a new ſpawne of Agitators, appeared to cut out their new Maſters new work: (five thouſand whereof Cromwell not long after ſcattered at Burford, they being betrayed by thoſe, they moſt confided in) yet this ſpirit cut out work enough for him during his life, and at laſt depoſed his ſon. The firſt thing then they do, is to proclaime againſt Monarchy, and the Houſe of Peers; voting both burthenſom and uſeleſs, and cancelling the enſigns

enſigns of the Kingly dignity, and putting the like impreſſions upon their own new modell of Government or Commonwealth.

The next was, that Cromwell, freed from the fear of his Levellers, little regards the complaints of his dear brethren, the Scots, who now bewayle the King's murder, the Kirk's little reformation, and the Covenant's dying condition; but he caſts his eye rather upon Ireland, where he knew, there was in chiefe command an eminent perſon, the Marquiſs of Ormond, at the head of a ſtout and loyall army. Which he conceived fitteſt for to grapple with, and to be made an occaſion to divert the fury of his own army; which he ſaw would be too buſy in England, if they were not employed abroad: and therefore having given directions for ſeverely proceeding againſt all thoſe, who had taken part with the late King, (ſo as not long after, Duke Hamilton, the Earle of Holland, and that excellent perſon Lord Capell ſuffered) he began his expedition into Ireland, where unfortunately, by too much confidence and too too much negligence, the vigilance and ſtoutnes of Jones, then Governor of Dublin, (who intended not much more than beating up a quarter, Cromwell's deſigne on Ireland.

Covenant, was not to march againſt its place of birth. Cromwell is declared Generall, and is ready with a conſiderable army of about 16000 men to march into Scotland: which country after ſome time he had entered, and found the Scotch army ſtrongly intrenched, and his own proviſions failing him, he finds it not unfit to deſign a retreat towards Berwick to ſupply himſelfe; but the Scots thinking they had an advantage put into their hands, boldly and in good order, firſt with ſtrong parties purſuing his rear, and then beating up his quarters; wherein courage was ſhewn on both ſides, and little advantage gott on either: at laſt, nigh Dunbarr, the Engliſh having beat the Scots off from a paſs or bridge, which was to ſecure their retreat, the whole bodies of both armies came to an engagement; but the Engliſh having placed and made uſe of their cannon very advantageouſly, and ſecured a ditch betwixt them and the enemy, happily engaged with the right wing of the Scotch horſe, who diſputed it very well, but at laſt were beaten; and their left wing as poorly quitting their ground, the Scotch foot fell as a prey either to ſlaughter or captivity. And thus this great battell won, (for it coſt the

Battell of Dunbarr.

Scots

Scots at leaſt 12000 men) not long after Leith and Edenborough it ſelfe fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

And now this rebuke falling on the Kirk-party, (for of that faction and dependence this army was compoſed; for they thought it was to unſanctifie them, to mingle with any other) they had argument enough *ad homines*, that ſucceſs was not an evidence to evince the goodnes of the cauſe: and therefore allegiance now muſt become a ſtolen wedge of gold or Babyloniſh garment; and the admittance of the King and his party into the land (tho' not then in the army) muſt be the reaſon, why God's people fled; and ſo both in his own perſon, ſervants, and party, the King is ſo ill treated, that from St. Johnſton's he intended to have made an eſcape; but ſome of his own greateſt and neareſt Engliſh Attendants gave notice, where he was; and he is ſtopt, and was pleas'd to return. And thus the neceſſity of their affairs makes them think rather of more reſpectfully uſing him; and ſo at Schoon they crown him. And tho' all endeavors were to make all of a piece, yet a Kirk-party are not very reconcileable; tho' for a time they can diſſemble as well as their neighbors: for it was not long, be-

The reſentments of the Kirk-party.

The King ill treated by them.

before they divided themſelves into diſtinct appellations; ſome into *Reſolvers*, others into *Proteſters*; and ſome conſiderable Officers (as Ker, Strauchan, and Lockhart) are found ſo enlightened, that they have more of Independent, than of Presbyter in them; whereby Cromwell gets great advantages. And not long after this, he purſuing his point diligently and reſolvedly, to ſhew, what Hamilton with a little fidelity in the laſt King's time might have done, Cromwell with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, landing ſome men at Innerkeithing in Fife, cuts off all communication betwixt the King's army and the Northern counties; and this forced the King and his army upon neceſſity, not choice, to march into England; where Duke William Hamilton with ſo much fidelity and bravery appeared thro' the whole expedition; (tho' many of the Scots quitted the King in the march) and this army by the King's conduct and courage gave ſo good account of themſelves throughout the whole march, that the *Reflexions* lay more upon the cowed Engliſh, who roſe not to the aſſiſtence of their Prince, (at that time with a good body of an army in the kingdom) than on want of courage or conduct in the Scotch army; who

The King's march into England.

who reſolvedly made their way, as far as Worceſter, and there fell fighting, like a ſtout and warlike people. But the error of this army was, like that of the late King's, that they tryed not their fortune in the direct way to London: for now raſhnes or deſpair would have ſooner bin interpreted wiſdom, than caution or prudence; it being often more eligible to grapple with an imminent danger, than to prolong a certaine ruine.

In the King's march about Lancaſhire, the brave Earle of Derby comes in to him, and in a ſmall time had raiſed a good body of men, about 1200 at leaſt; and had he had more time given him, he would have bin ſoone conſiderable. But Cromwell had Argus's eyes, and ever watch'd a riſing power; and ſo by a party under Lilburne nipps this early budd: and after a ſharp fight overthrows the Earle with a conſiderable body of Gentlemen and Officers, and takes him priſoner; and not long after the King's defeat at Worceſter, by a Council of War (tho' taken upon quarter) he is ſentenc'd to death, and loſes his head. The Earle of Derby defeated, and Beheaded.

The King's eſcape from Worceſter carries with it ſuch a proof of divine providence, that (his gratitude being

ſuitable to it) it is no way to be doubted, but, as God glorioufly brought him home, ſo he will make him an inſtrument of much good to his people. He is in danger in every element, yet ſaved in all. One while in a tree in the air; another by many by-paths and roads, and concealments in houſes of the land. And (that we may ſee, how great things depend upon ſmall) he had like to have bin betrayed by an horſhoo; for a ſagacious farrier, that was to remove a ſhoo, found it had bin well worn, and made by its turn in the North; and ſo gave notice, that this company were like to be of the King's train. Nor was the element of water much leſs favourable to him: for the Maſter of the veſſell at Brighthemſton in Suſſex, who tranſported the King, coming at midnight for his bottle of aqua-vitæ, his wife ſuſpected, that, he was upon a deſigne of tranſporting ſome eminent perſon; and ſo it fell under the ſecreſy of a woman; but it was a loyall one; for ſhe encouraged him, and he gott his mariners from ſhore, upon pretenſe that his veſſell was on drift; but with theſe difficulties he arrived at Roan in France. Cromwell in the mean time marching up with his priſoners, they were ſoon ſold,

The King defeated at Worceſter, and his after-dangers.

ſold, as ſlaves into the Plantations, whoſe nation not long before had ſold their King; and Monk, being left behind in Scotland, ſoon takes Sterlin, and not long after ſurprizes the chiefe body of the Scotch Nobility, above 300 Noblemen and Gentlemen; among whom was old Generall Leſley, and who were pretending to raiſe an army to relieve Dundee, which, after Sterlin, Generall Monk had beſieged, and where he found a very brave and ſtout reſiſtence, and where the Governor thereof was barbarouſly ſhott, after quarter given, by a phanatick Officer, which troubled Monk very much.

How ſoon after Worceſter fight, all places ſurrendred.

After this, like ripe fruit without ſo much as ſhaking the tree, fall into their hands St. Andrews, and Aberdeen, and Dunbarton, and Dunnoter caſtle, and other towns and caſtles, in which were all the great ſpoil and riches they had carried from out of England; ſo as according unto their own proverb, *One was the day of the account, but another of pay.* And tho' the Northern parts ſome time after coſt the Engliſh ſome paines and marches, becauſe the Commanders were choice men, ſuch as the Lord Glencairn, Sir Arthur Forbus, and Middleton; yet the very Iſles of Orkney, the Hebri-

Hebrides, and Shetland are reduced. And the Iſles of Guernſey and Jerſey near England, or rather Normandy, falling under the ſame fate, with the Barbadoes and American Iſles in the Weſt-Indies: all theſe ſubmitting to Sir George Aiſcough. And thus the new Commonwealth was entirely Maſter of all, that was under the old Engliſh Monarchy. And now who could think, that this power ſhould be ſo ſoon ſhaken; when Holland, and France, and Denmark, and Sweden, all make applications, and deſire the friendſhip of the proſperous? And yet we ſhall find a worm breeding in this gourd; and within ſeven or eight years, the true and exiled Heir, not long before forced to fly away in diſguiſe, (the memory of whoſe father paved him a good way for his return) appearing in the greateſt glory and luſtre imaginable, and entertained with the greateſt love and breathings after him, that could be evidenced by mankind.

A Commonwealth, and the ſovereignty of the Houſe of Commons.

The King thus murdered, his Heirs exhereditated, and the ſtatutes of 1° Eliſabethæ, and 3° Jacobi, which acknowledged the ſovereignty of the King and his Heirs, repealed, a Commonwealth is ſett up, and the Legiſlative part of the Government is declared in the

the Houſe of Commons, and the executive part in a Council of State; and the army appears ſervants to both, and yet were doubly Maſters of both. For the chiefe members of the army were the chiefe leading men both in the Houſe of Commons and Council of State; and therefore it's no marvell, that the firſt counſels were ſo ſtout and martiall; and that they were ſo apt to reſent the leaſt injuries from their Neighbour-States. After this their proſperity both in Scotland and Ireland, they conſider, how their Neighbors bear reſpect unto them; and the firſt warr they make is with their elder-brother, Commonwealth, that of Holland, where their late Agent, Doriſlaus, (tho' not by the natives) had bin aſſaſſinated; and to them they ſend Oliver Saint-John, Lord Cheife-Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and Walter Strickland, as Ambaſſadors; and they are to reſent Doriſlaus's death amongſt other their inſtructions. But they themſelves find ſuch an irreverent uſage from the common people there, as if the like fate might have befallen themſelves, which they repreſented to their Maſters, and they ſo reſent it, that they call them home: and preſently by an Act of Navigation prohibit the importing of any fo-

Council of State.

Army.

Warr with Holland.

Act of Navigation.

foreign commodities, except upon Engliſh bottoms, or ſuch, as were of the country, whence the commodities came. The Hollander immediately ſends over Ambaſſadors to divert the breach; but old injuries are remembred, and new complained of; and reparation muſt be made for Amboyna, and the herring-fiſhing forborn or bought; and the river of Scheld to Antwerp muſt be opened: ſo as terms of peace being not agreed on, acts of hoſtility follow. Blake comes out, as the Engliſh, and Van-Trump, as the Dutch Admirall: and they engage each other in Dover-road; and the flagg is denyed, and the Dutch are worſted, and leave the coaſt. This was in the year 1652. The ſame year Trump comes out again with 120 ſaile, and Sir George Aiſcough being come from his Weſt-India voyage, with not above fifteen Men of Warr, had like to have bin ſurpriſed; but Aiſcough ſecures himſelfe betwixt the caſtles of Deal and Sandown, where the wind blew ſo contrary to Trump, that he could not bear in unto them. And in the mean time Blake had ſpoiled the herring-fiſhing, and taken there ſome of the States frigats: as likewiſe others under the command of Trump, who were ſeparated from his body,

Blake.

Van-Trump.

body, whilſt he was ſteering towards the Sound, whither he convoyed ſome merchant-men. But being no more ſucceſsfull, and his Maſters and the populacy grumbling, Trump layes down his Commiſſion, and Witten was appointed in his place. Witten.

Sir George Aiſcough being afterwards ſent out with a good ſquadron or fleet, he near Plymouth is engaged with De Ruyter; but the rencounter was of no great importance: ſo as after ſome diſpute both fleets drew off. For De Ruyter had ſecured his merchant-men, and Aiſcough found it neceſſary to repair his torn fleet: but not long after Blake meets De Witt, and worſts him, but De Witt ſoon made his way home. And now the Hollander finds it neceſſary to call in the Dane to his aſſiſtence, who offers to furniſh twenty men of war, ſo as Van Trump might be perſwaded to reaſſume his charge. Nor were the engagements ſingly on our own coaſts; but Captain Badily in the Mediterranean is with at leaſt treble his number ſett upon by Van Galen, and loſing one of his ſhips, the Phenix, but ſaving the reſt, he ſignalized his valour and bravery by ſlaying Van Galen in the fight: but Captain Cox not long after ſurpriſed and regained the Phenix, which Sir George Aiſcough. De Ruyter. Van Galen.

Ba-

Badily had loſt. This year likewiſe Van Trump had a fourth combat, and worſted Blake near Goodwin's ſands. After this Generall Monk comes from Scotland, and is joyned with Blake in the command at Sea; and about Portland they engage, where Lawſon did excellent ſervice: and this fight continued two or three dayes. In 1653 there is a new engagement, where Blake by reaſon of his indiſpoſition of health was abſent, and Monk commanded in chiefe; Pen and Lawſon being his Vice and Rear Admiralls. And here that moſt renowned ſeaman Van Trump, true ſervant to the Houſe of Orange, and friend to our King, was by a musket-ſhott ſlain, which made the Dutch retreat; and the Engliſh had bought their victory too dearly to purſue it.

Opdam. Opdam ſupplies the place of Trump; but his Maſters, the States, ſought rather to conclude the differences by a peace, than by a renewed warr; and they lay hold of the firſt change of government, that was made in our new Commonwealth; for by this time the Officers of the army, eſpecially Harriſon and his Fifth-monarchy-men, pretending, Chriſt was onely to reign, and his government to be exerciſed by the Saints, new di-

diſtinctions are raiſed betwixt the people of the land (who were not promiſcuouſly to be truſted with the choice of their own Repreſentatives) and the people of God, who were both to chooſe and fill up the vacant places; and in ſuch perſons it was fit only to lodge the ſupream authority, men fearing God, and of approved ſincerity.

Upon this diſpute betwixt the army and the Parliament, Cromwell, Lambert, and Harriſon enter the Houſe of Commons, and declare a neceſſity of their diſſolution, and the ſword-men determine the queſtion; Harriſon pulling the Speaker out of the chair, and Cromwell commanding the Mace to be carried away, and the doors of the Houſe to be ſhutt up, and the Houſe to be guarded by ſoldiers, to prevent any further meetings. Cromwell knew all this was inconſiſtent with any government; but that it would make for him at laſt; and ſo he favoured the diſorder, tho' he appeared diſturbed, that there was a neceſſity of doing it.

The army purge the Houſe of Commons, none to conſiſt of Saints.

The Speaker pulled out of the chair.

And the next thing theſe men did, was to conſtitute a Council of State out of the chiefe Officers of the army, and the Factioners with them in the late diſſolved Parliament: and preſently they make

A new Council of State.

make an ordinance for a ſix month's tax. The ſumm was leſſer than the former aſſeſſments; ſo as that eaſe and the neceſſity of obeying made the mony to be uninterruptedly and ſeemingly contentedly levied. However at laſt they call a new Houſe of Commons of Saints, and they prove ſo ſeraphicall and notionall, that they are much more troubleſom, than any former; which being diſcerned, old Presbyter Rouſe (then Provoſt of Eaton) being their Speaker, Cromwell ſo influenced him, that he, with a packt party of the Houſe, ſurprizing them, declared their *ſitting* was no longer neceſſary: and ſo abruptly left the chair: (the ſervant diſſolving the maſters) and took the mace with him, and march'd to Whitehall to Cromwell: whilſt Harriſon ſate ſtill in the Houſe: but a party of ſoldiers ſoon diſperſt him and his company; and within four days, Cromwell is choſen Protector of the Commonwealth of England, *&c.*

The Saint-like Parliament diſſolved.

Cromwell choſen Protector.

By theſe two laſt inſtances of Harriſon's pulling the Speaker out of the chair; and Rouſe's quitting his own chair, without any known authority, but his own, and the ſubjects being generally taxed by a Council of State, and their pretended Repreſentatives being thus for-

forcibly diſſolved; we may perceive, how ſacred the priviledges of Parliament were unto theſe ſincere Reformers, who had murdered their King, and made a bloody warr upon their fellow-ſubjects, upon pretence of aſſerting the liberty of the Subject and the priviledges of Parliament. And now ſubtil Cromwell by theſe tyrannicall zealots is made Protector of the three Kingdoms, and the Monarchy, which was ſo late abjured, is innocently (as they think) reſolved into a ſingle perſon with a much more arbitrary government; and the heads of the Inſtrument of the Government, (as they called it) drawn by the Military Officers, were as follow.

The new heads of government.

I. *A Parliament to be called every three years.*

II. *The firſt to aſſemble on the firſt of September* 1654.

III. *No Parliament to be diſſolved, till it have ſate five months.*

IV. *Such Bills, as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if he aſſent not unto in twenty days, to be laws without him.*

V. *That his Councill ſhall not exceed the number of twenty one, nor be leſs than thirteen.*

VI. *That immediately after the death of the preſent and ſucceeding Protectors, the Councill ſhall chooſe another, before they riſe.*

VII. *No Protector, after the preſent, ſhall be Generall of the Army.*

VIII. *The Protector ſhall have power to make warr and peace.*

IX. *That in the intervalls of Parliament, the Protector and the Councill may make ſome laws, which ſhall be binding to the ſubject.*

All this comes in the place of *Magna Charta.* And here is a prerogative a people muſt bear, who would not endure a Starr-Chamber.

The laſt Article ſhews plainly, even in theſe men's judgments, that the authority anciently and formerly uſed by the Kings in making Proclamations, and requiring obedience unto Regall authority, in matters not contrary to the known and ſtanding laws, was a neceſſary and conſtituent part of government; but this muſt be denyed to the King, their Governour; and yet a power left in their publick Miniſter or Protector, in whom the ſovereignity was not lodged, to make even laws in the intervalls of Parliament.

And

And the Protector, who was attended unto the Chancery-Court by all the Judges, Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, as likewiſe by the Army, in great ſtate and ſolemnity, is to ſwear to the obſervance of this model of Government; and how well he performed it, the diſſolving them before the time prefixt, and interrupting them even in their framing Bills, the following narration will declare; however, he ſwears in the words following, *viz.*

Cromwell inaugurated Protector.

I Promiſe in the preſence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contain'd in the Inſtrument, but to obſerve and cauſe the ſame to be obſerved, and in all things, to the beſt of my underſtanding, govern the Nation according to the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes thereof; and to ſeek their peace, and cauſe juſtice and law to be equally adminiſtred.

And now his viſion is made good; for he was actually the beſt man in the Kingdom: (as beſt is uſed for greateſt) but it deceived him; for tho' it made good what it promiſed, yet it fell ſhort of his ambition, Kingſhip, which was his aime, and which by reaſon of the broken parties among themſelves, he

could never attain unto. For, *there is no peace unto the the ungodly, ſays my God, but they are like a troubled ſea, caſting up mire*; or whoſe counſells can diſturb all, but ſcarſe ſettle any thing: and this alteration, we ſhall find, brings in him new counſells and new aimes in point of government both at home and abroad.

The Dutch peace granted, in order to Cromwell's ſettlement.

In this year therefore of 1654, the ſubtle Dutch perceiving, how inferior their ſhips were in point of building unto ours, (and the main body of our firſt and ſecond rate ſhips, which in all the fights ever turned the ſcale, were thoſe built by the late King) that they might get ſome time to better their navy, humbly and induſtriouſly ſeek a peace; which Cromwell would never have granted, but as he ſaw it might contribute to his ſingleſhip; or the ſetling him and his family in the throne, and the excluding the true Heir: (which may be thought a true ingredient in the following peace with France) and a peace is made both with Holland and Denmark. And now intereſt of State, which would be reckon'd degeneracy in a private mind, makes it wiſdom in Princes, to worſhip any idoll, which is ſet up. And Spain, and France, and Portugall, and Sweden, as well as Hol-

Holland, and Denmark, (and indeed who not?) even the very Hans-towns alſo come in and congratulate. But we ſhall ſoon perceive that however ſelfiſhneſs is declaimed againſt, particular intereſt governs the world.

The impolitick peace made with France and Sweden.

For now Cromwell devoyd of naturall affection unto, and not weighing the true intereſt of his country, makes his moſt near and ſecret confederations with France and Sweden, which we feel to this day; tho' perchance we run into the ſame error. This had almoſt made Sweden entirely Lord of the Baltick ſea; tho' it was England's intereſt, that that dominion ſhould be alwayes divided, or in a weak Prince's hands; for if it were ſingly in any one, eſpecially in Sweden's, (who by the late Treaty at Munſter was become a great member of the Empire) it muſt make that Northern Prince as conſiderable, as either of the two great Monarchies, France or Spain. And thus by the peace, that France made with England, and the aſſiſtence the Protector gave her, the French Monarchy took that footing in Flanders, that it forced Spain to the peace of Fontaraby, which made the match betwixt that young King and the Infanta of Spain: (who had the beſt title unto Flanders) which the French by

oath upon this Treaty diſclaymed. But Intereſt of State diſpenſed with conſcience, or cleared her from keeping that oath, as the ſince bloody, and yet proſperous, warr (on the French ſide) betwixt thoſe two crowns makes appear; and tho' Spain be now backt with almoſt all the German Empire, and Holland, and Denmark; yet how likely Flanders is to be ſwallowed up, the Engliſh are now ſenſible of, and may give Cromwell part of their thanks. It was in this year, that the cheife rebells in the firſt maſſacre in Ireland were taken and executed, and ſhoales of them ſlain; for *blood* will have blood. It was at this time, when Generall Monk being ſent into Scotland, Morgan firſt, and he afterwards, gave the defeats to Forbus and Middleton.

Monk ſent into Scotland.

The diſtreſs of the Kirk in Scotland.

This was the time likewiſe, when the Kirk of Scotland ſurely thought, that Antichriſt was in his higth; for from a Presbyterian-Eccleſiaſticall-power they were fallen into a Lay-Independent's hand; for now the Generall Aſſemblies of the Kirk were interdicted by the ſoldiers: but by Argyle's interceſſion, who was as deformedly obſequious to Cromwell as he had been inſolently rebellious againſt his late Majeſtie, the Presbyterians have

have leave to meet, but the wings of Excommunication are pinioned.

Monk thus ſetled in Scotland, tho' the eye of the world was upon Lambert's being deſign'd for Ireland, and he himſelfe had made preparations for it; yet Cromwell's jealouſie diverted it, telling him, that he himſelfe could not want ſuch a ſecond in England, and Fleetwood, his ſon in law, is ſent over Lord Deputy, thither.

Cromwell's diſappointing of Lambert.

Fleetwood ſent into Ireland.

And now, (tho' Chriſt-tide muſt not be obſerved) as if good fortune waited upon particular dayes, the third of September, which had often bin proſperous unto Cromwell's armes, (whereby we ſee ſuperſtition will creep in even among the godly) muſt be made uſe of for the meeting of his firſt Parliament; and the day muſt be tryed, if it would influence his Civil affaires, as it had done his Military: and the old truſty cloak-bag-nagg, Lenthall, (who had kept the chair, when ſentence was given upon the King) tho' he was pulled out of his chair by Harriſon in the laſt diſſolved Parliament, muſt now be put in it again, and be the Speaker of this Parliament. But the other Members are not ſo conform and ſervile, as the Speaker; for they begin to queſtion the authority they

Cromwell's firſt Parliament, on the third of September.

ſit by; and therefore are interdicted ſitting, till they acknowledge it: which
a many Members not doing, long before the end of five months, the time ſecured by the Inſtrument, the Protector diſſolves them. But ſtill that is ſaintſhip in a Protector, which is tyranny in a King. For if the holy ſpirit rules in ſuch men, and gives them the rule over others, neither perjury nor any other act of violence can amount unto a ſin: and yet other enlightened men, even of the ſame tribe, and at the ſame time, as Major Wildman and others, ſet forth a Declaration of the lawfullnes of taking up armes againſt this great Potentate. But the great Leviathan laughs at theſe darts flung againſt him; and being now egged on by the French, and his own covetous, as well as ambitious, deſire, he entertains a great deſign againſt the Spaniſh Monarchy in the Weſt-Indies, and under Pen, as Admirall, and Venables, as Commander of the land-forces, he attempts
The expedition to Hiſpaniola. that great Iſland, Hiſpaniola, which by ill conduct failing, and his men by change of air being become as it were moped and devoyd of courage, they are routed by an handfull of men, and forced to retire to their ſhips; but they recover
Jamaica taken. reſolution enough to take Jamaica, which

is

is an Iſland of ſome importance, and may prove a ſhrewd thorne in Spain's ſide. One Gage, a Prieſt, was a great promoter of this expedition; for the Saint-State-Miniſters can draw water from a Popiſh ciſtern.

Expedition into the Mediterranean.

This ſucceſs neither anſwered to the charge nor honor of the expedition: yet he keeps up his credit abroad, and Tunis, and Tripoli, and Algiers in the Mediterranean make peace with him. And tho' he was perſecuting the old Proteſtant Church at home, yet he muſt appear forward to be Head of the Proteſtant religion abroad: and therefore he ſends his Agents abroad in behalfe of the Proteſtants in Piedmont and Savoy; whom their own Prince, that Duke, at that time uſed with great rigor. This was in the year 1655. Active Mr. Downing and Morland are ſent to Turin, and Dr. Pell, a learned Mathematician, to the Swiſs; but the Protector's intereſt was not powerfull enough to effect their releife in this inland country, but as his new and ſtrict confederate, the King of France, procures it for him; and to make the greater ſhew of his zeal in this work, he recommends a generall, free, and charitable contribution to be made for theſe poor ſufferers throughout all this king-

Proteſtants in Savoy relieved.

kingdom of England; and great ſumms were raiſed by it, but much more than ever came to their hands. For the men of theſe times, or their Publicans and Receivers of taxes, were grown very expert (notwithſtanding all their ſainteſhip) to provide for themſelves, when they ſhould be caſt out of their ſtewardſhip.

The inconſiderateneſs of of the Cavaliers.

Thus the new Commonwealth or Republick being agitated, every change gives ſome falſe hopes to the reſtleſs and inconſiderate, tho' highly loyall, Cavaliers, who are projecting new riſings: not conſidering, that there were ſome falſe brethren, many neceſſitous and *futile* among them; nor weighing, how weak oppoſitions ſtrengthen uſurpt titles; and this runs them all generally, *viz.* tamperers and thoſe that were quiet, into one ſtate, and their eſtates muſt be decimated, which to the full they paid: and a new ſort of Governors muſt be raiſed (upon pretenſe of watching them, but really to bridle all parties) called Major-Generalls, who were Roytelets or petty Kings or State-maſtives. There were eleven of them in number, and the whole kingdom was divided among them; and they lorded it over my Lord Northumberland and his followers, as much

A Decimation of their eſtates.

Major-Generalls ſet up.

much as over any of our tribe of Cavaliers: and I do more than beleive, that moſt of us leſs reſpected or obſerved them, than he and the other Lords and perſons of that party did; and yet wee were as much eſteemed by them; for a ſteddy loyalty was not deſpiſed by theſe great ones. And however afterwards it fared with thoſe, that retained it, if it would then have warped towards the preſent power, or changed its Lord, it would have found truſt and encouragement here; for the world knows, that Cromwell uſed many artifices to gain them; and it is no vanity to ſay, that this numerous and conſiderable party in the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, were then ſo ſteddy to their principles, ſo regular in their lives, and ſo exemplary to all, (tho' there were ſome drinking Hectors intermixt) that they converted very many, and had they kept the ſame temper upon his Majeſtie's return, which they did to make way for his return, (to ſay no more) wee had certainly bin in a better ſtate, than we are at preſent; but

——— *Sævior armis*
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.

It

The second Parliament.

It is too too often the misfortune of this poor Nation, that people cannot be long without a Parliament, nor well with it; and therefore in the year 1656 new writts go out for ſummoning a new Parliament; and tho' they are to meet in the ſame month, September, yet the third day is changed into the ſeventeenth. And here Sir Thomas Widdrington is Speaker; a man at this time wholly devoted to Cromwell; tho' for ſome time at firſt, he endeavoured to be reputed (but never got to be thought) a Royalliſt.

The government muſt now take a cordiall, that it might not be infected: leaſt after the choice of Parliament-men, this Aſſembly might be ſuſpected to have an ill breath; and therefore the Councill of State are to approve of the perſons elected Parliament-men, before they ſitt; by which means Cromwell kept out for a time thoſe, that were diſaffected to him. But this muſt not be interpreted violation of a Parliament in a Protector, or State, or Commonwealth, whatever it had bin in a King. And he paſſed laws to ſtrengthen his authority: and they that ſate, diſannulled the King's title, and gave ſecurity to the Protector's perſon, and vote the Spaniſh warr to be con-

continued, and clipp the wings of the Major-Generalls, and recommend unto him as the beſt means to ſecure the peace of the Nation, to take upon him the Kingſhip: all which is called, *The humble Petition and Advice:* this laſt was an arrow, that very likely was pulled out of the quiver of Sir Thomas Widdrington, tho' it was headed by Cromwell's own ambition; for Widdrington was a good Lawyer, but naturally a cautious and timorous man; and he well knew, how great ſecurity the antient laws in being gave unto all actors, that moved under or with a crowned Head. But his own army will not endure it; and indeed there was no entire intereſt firm totally to him; neither the Presbyterian nor Independent Churches, leſs the Fifth-monarchy-men, and leaſt of all the Royalliſts. For if there were union among any of the former, it was, becauſe they all feared the true title; and tho' he had peace with this preſent Parliament at this preſent time, yet it was, becauſe he had deprived very many of the moſt conſiderable Members of their right of ſitting; and indeed at this time ſome deſperate ſpirits of his own army, ſuch as Syndercomb, Sexby, and others, had reſolved to aſſaſſinate him.

Kingſhip offered unto Cromwell.

Upon

He refuſeth it.

Upon the whole matter, the great Hypocrite is forced to refuſe the title of King: and then finds it fitt to adjourn his Parliament unto the January following. But leſt the not daring to aſſume that title of King ſhould be a diminution unto his authority of Protector, he (like an Anabaptiſt) retakes the ſame, or brings to the font again his fuller grown babe, the Protectorſhip, and with greater ſolemnity is reinſtalled in that Office at Weſtminſter-Hall: where he receives four emblems of government: *viz.* a purple-velvet robe, lined with ermines, put on him by the Earle of Warwick; a rich Bible with ſtudds of gold, preſented by Whitlock, Commiſſioner of the great ſeal, and a ſcepter and a ſword delivered him by the Speaker. And now he modells his houſe, that it might have ſome reſemblance unto a Court; and his Liveries, and Lacquays, and Yeomen of the Guard are known, whom they belong unto by their habit. His two daughters, gentlewomen of good virtue and modeſty, are married to two noble families: one to the heir of the eldeſt ſon of the Earle of Warwick, and the other to the Lord Falconbridge, a Nobleman of great parts, and by his friends ſuppoſed not to have wanted

He renews his Protectorſhip.

wanted therein an ambition to ſerve the King: (at leaſt he ſaid ſo:) he makes his youngeſt ſon, Henry, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his eldeſt, Richard, Chancellor of Oxford. His navys abroad are ſuccesfull; for in the year 1656 his ſquadron under Admirall Stannier gaines a rich booty and victory over the Plate-fleet, wherein the Protector ſhewed ſome generoſity by civilly treating and freely and without ranſome ſending home ſome young Noblemen, who had loſt their parents and their portions in that rencounter. And in 1657 Blake's raſh and daring attempt proved very fortunate and glorious upon the Spaniſh ſhips in Sancta-cruz; where if the wind had not almoſt to a miracle veered about to bring him off, the Conqueror muſt have neceſſarily bin conquered. For as he was not able to bring off his prize, and therefore burnt it; ſo he had not bin able to bring off himſelfe, unleſs the wind had bin thus favourable unto him.

His ſucceſſe at ſea.

Nor were his forces leſs proſperous by land; but they ſerved to ſett up the greatnes of France, not England. For with the 6000 men he ſent over into Flanders, as auxiliaries, thoſe conſiderable places, Montmedi, St. Venant, and Mardike, are taken by the French; and the year

How he advanced the Frenchgreatnes by land.

year following 1658, Dunkirk being begirt by the French forces, commanded by Marſhall Turenne and Schomberg, and the Engliſh by our Morgan and Lockhart, both valued much by the French, the defeat was given to Don John, our Duke of York, the Prince of Conde, and the Marquiſs of Caracena. In this battell the Engliſh were the great inſtruments of victory; and after this victory Dunkirk *it* ſelfe was delivered up unto the French King, and by his command into *the* hands of Generall Lockhart for the Engliſh.

Theſe were the great actions, *that* ſignalized the Protector's laſt years of *his* life; and theſe were the great advantages, that France made by the Engliſh, and are her beſt excuſes for her ingratitude all this time unto our King; who by his own good parts and abilities had, in a nick of time, when Providence might have flung that King into the ſame condition our Prince was in, made himſelfe an happy inſtrument to reſettle Paris in its loyalty, and to divert the Prince of Conde from the great changes probably he might have made. Nor was Spain decently gratefull to him; for he brought over into that ſervice a body of men, who, tho' they were not numerous, were very

How our King ſerved both France and Spain: and yet how ill requited.

very valuable, and whom he had reſerved for his own ſervice, to have ſeconded ſome fortunate riſing in England; and tho' he ventured them, and the perſons of his two illuſtrious Brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloceſter, with the Marquis of Ormond, and other conſiderable Officers; yet Spain uſed him courſely, tho' they commanded him not out of their country, as did France and Holland. Such little prevalences have the virtues of the mind amongſt perſons dignified with the ſupreameſt characters toward men of their own rank, if unfortunate. But nothing Cromwell could do abroad, procured him reverence or eſteem at home; for here he could maſter no body, but the loyall and forward party of the King; and ſome of them every year fell a ſacrifice to him; as the Marquis of Ormond had almoſt done, being here in London at that time to head a riſing, which the Protector had diſcovered, and for ſome time cheriſhed; but that reverend Divine, Dr. Hewet, and that loyall Knight, Sir Henry Slingsby, both at this time looſe their heads.

How much valued Cromwell was abroad, and how little eſteemed at home.

This Nation knew the Idol a pear-tree: and they would not bow down to it; and the moſt ſo abominated the uſurpations of the old Kingly government, that they would never willingly ſubmit

their necks unto a new forme. And indeed they had great reaſon: for every change was more arbitrary and tyrannicall, than the other, not unto them ſingly, but unto the ſubject in general. Tho' ſome of theſe things above mentioned preceded the time we are now in, and ſome followed the meeting of the next ſeſſion of Parliament; yet being all of a nature we have put them together; and we may ſay, the refractorineſs of this Aſſembly, which met again the 26th of January 1657. brake Cromwell's heart: for he being overperſwaded by the Speaker and thoſe Members in the laſt Seſſion, *who* had then ſo ſubmiſſively *conformed to him*, in this Seſſion to admit thoſe, whom he had then excluded; and he having likewiſe affected to rear a diſtinct Houſe from that of the Commons, in reſemblance of the Houſe of Lords, and which could never gett an higher title, than that of the *other Houſe:* this weakened his party in many of the leading men of the Houſe of Commons by carrying away from thence divers of his beſt Speakers, and thoſe, who were refractory, and had rejected that honour of ſitting in the new Houſe of Lords, envying the others empty title.

The ſecond Seſſion of the former Parliament.

A Lords, (or as they called it, the other) Houſe.

This

This Parliament had not ſatt above 15 or 16 dayes, when he finds himſelf neceſſitated to diſſolve them. For they call in queſtion all that had bin done in the laſt Seſſion, by reaſon of the excluſion of their Fellow-Members; and they held his Houſe of Lords in contempt, and they were throwing down the pageantry of the famous Petition and Advice. All which ſo enraged him, (for his brain really was grown a little hott, as was Admirall Blakes, before he dyed) that notwithſtanding all perſwaſion of friends, he takes an hackney, and haſts to his Lords houſe, and ſends for his Commons, and acquaints them, that as he had taken an oath to the Government, ſo they had a like oath to him: (a doctrine, which may be ſaid moſt true and politick, but by him forgot, when he was a ſubject.) He told them likewiſe, that they were tumbling all into a confuſion, and therefore he had reſolved to diſſolve them. But that which was thought to have pinch't him to the quick, was, that he found, that even his neareſt friends were not true to him. For Desborough his brother in law, and Fleetwood his ſon in law were in confederacy with Pickering and Sydenham, and others of his Privy-Council, (whom he thought ſecureſt to him) to

Cromwell diſſolves this Parliament.

His discontent and chagrin.

change the government into a Commonwealth. And thus agitated some time before his death, he seems dispirited; and by the acquaintance I had with an old Gentlewoman, who made his broths and jellies, and other such cockering meats, I learnt, that for one while he frequently used these, and for another he took large draughts of wine; and he seldom awaked even in the night, but with one or other of these he must be repleniſht. And sure these were better comforts to him, than the reflexions on his successes.

His Sickness.

So as at last falling into a feaver, he soon fell into a delirium; and one of his Physicians, whom I was intimately acquainted with, assured me, that during all his sicknes, he was never Master of so much reason, as to determine any thing of his Successor or matters of state; and yet his fulsome flattering Divines and Friends, all gave themselves assurance of his recovery. Insomuch as Thomas Goodwin, in his sawcy expostulations with God in prayer, would tell God, that they ask't not for his life; for they were assured he had too great things for this man to do, to remove him yet; but they prayed for his speedy recovery, because his life and presence were so necessary to divers things,

things, then of great moment to be dispatcht. But all this while this poor Gentleman lay disturb'd in his head, and, as it was thought, reflecting upon a then-meeting of the Independent Ministers, that were assembled at the Savoy to sett forth their Articles of faith: for the most that he said was, *They must be satisfied, they must be satisfied, or else we all run into blood again.* And tho' it was pretended at that time by Thurlo the Secretary and Goodwin the Minister, that he gave particular directions to them, that his son Richard should be his Successor, and they brought in others afterwards to testifie the same; yet this Physician assured me, he never was in any such condition, as distinctly to know what he did. And thus on his beloved and victorious day, the third of September 1658. he expired *sicca morte*, ten years after he had spilt the innocent blood of the King; and tho' he had run thro' so many dangers, and had so many plots against his life, and committed so many wicked and flagitious acts, yet he breathed out his last in his bed. But as if the elements, as well as men, had waited for this day, the day preceding there was as loud and great a tempest, as was at any time ever known. His interment not long after followed; and

His death.

it was with as much pomp and ceremony, as belonged unto, or had bin paid unto any King. And by this meteors extinction and the hiſtory, that follows after him, we may ſee, that the felicity, which is not grounded upon virtue, moſt commonly is but of ſhort duration, unleſs it be fix't by that hand of providence, which uſually depoſes and diſpoſes governments.

The giddy and brainesick temper of the ſtate after Cromwells death.

And now after his death, as if God would poure out ſhame upon this Nation, ſuch a ſpirit of giddineſs appears, that our government ſeems to have the twiſting of the gutts; and nothing could paſs in their new Politicks. For a flaw, even among themſelves, is in his heirs title; and therefore Richard durſt not be proclaimed Protector, till Fleetwood and Desborough (his uncle and his brother in law) were ſent unto to know, whether they would acquieſce; becauſe a former paper under Cromwells hand was known to have bin ſign'd, which appointed Fleetwood to ſucceed him. But in truth, he was not in a condition to name his Succeſſor, when it is ſaid he did.

His ſon Richard proclaimed Protector. His oath.

But they declaring their acquieſcence, the Heir goes to Weſtminſter-hall in ſtate, and takes his oath before Nathaniel Fiennes (Keeper of the great ſeal) to maintain the religion

religion and laws of the land, *&c.* And after that, acknowledgments of his power come from all places, the Counties, the Cities, the great Ones, the Army, nay Monk in Scotland, Sir Charles Coot in Ireland, and Lockhart from Dunkirk, all acknowledge and agree, since he was the great man, he was fitteſt to be the great man. Notwithſtanding all this, he preſently falls under ſuſpicion with his army, who pretend, that he would bring in the King; (but he had no ſo good inclination, onely he had been formerly a little debauch't, and converſt ſometimes with ſeverall Cavaliers, and in his jovialty he would drink King Charles's health.) And his unkle Desborough (now a leading man) propoſes Fleetwood to be Generall of the Army.

The Scotch and Irish sit in the Houſe of Commons

This made it neceſſary to call a Parliament: and Scotland and Ireland are to ſend their Members, and ſitt amongſt them, and Mr. Chute is choſen Speaker; who was a very able man at a Chancery-barr, and as ill (it is ſaid) at collecting the ſenſe of the Houſe in the Chair. This was in the beginning of 1659. This Parliament was likewiſe to conſiſt of an Houſe of Commons, and the other Houſe. The Officers of the Army, notwithſtanding the Parliaments ſitting, frequently

The Officers of the Armyes Councill.

meet at Wallingford-houſe, and the pretended Lords houſe appear to favour the Army, and to countenance their meetings; and the Commons Houſe diſlike it, and vote againſt it. Richard, and his Councel, and his Parliament debate many things; but like irreſolute and fearful ſouls, heſitate ſo long upon their points, that they looſe the opportunity of putting any thing in execution; and Desborough at laſt, obſerving, how faintly their pulſes beat, prevayls on (if not forces) Richard his Nephew to diſſolve this his firſt Parliament.

The Parliament diſſolved.

A new modell of government.

And now at Wallingford-houſe a new modell of government is framing; and Fleetwood is declared Commander in chiefe of the Army. But no ſooner is this on foot among the chiefe Officers, but Dr. Owen get's together at St. James's Chappel the inferior Officers: (for all the Congregation was righteous, and Moſes and Aaron take too much upon them, and Lambert countenances theſe) ſo as Fleetword, the Commander in chiefe, and Desborough muſt ſtrike ſaile, and the Protectors chiefe Confidents in the Army, Colonel Ingoldsby, Howard, and Norton, &c. are diſcarded; and articles are propoſed to oblige the ſucceeding Parliament to ſett up a Common-wealth; but the Armys wiſeſt friends

The inferior Officers of the Army appeare concerned in ſettling the government.

A Common-wealth is affected.

friends prevaile with them for not impoſing this, as a condition of their ſitting. But the Army, inſtead of calling a new Parliament, recalls the old Members in the long Parliament, which ſatt in the year 1653. when Harriſon pulled the Speaker out of the chair, and Cromwell carryed away the mace; for the Army acknowledges, that till this time they had the preſence of God among them or Shekinah; but that then they turned out of the way, when they turned theſe good men out of the Houſe; and thereby they brought the *good old cauſe* into reproach. But notwithſtanding all this, he that obſerves the Armies Declaration, will find, they promiſe theſe Members ſafety for their ſitting, not obedience unto what they determined. This Aſſembly meet, and were called the *Rump*, or the taile of the long Parliament; but Prynn, Booth, and Roſſiter &c. are ſecluded; notwithſtanding this violation, all muſt be interpreted treading in the right way, and preſerving priviledges of Parliament. And unto this Rump the Army makes a new addreſs of propoſalls:

The Armyes propoſalls.

That liberty and property be maintained according to the law.

That the law be ſo regulated, that it be not vexatious. That

That there be a Goſpell-preaching Miniſtry.

That none be intruſted with any ſhare in the Government, that are not affected to it.

That Parliaments may not ſitt too long, and a Council of State may be conſtituted.

And many other heads, that had bin before propoſed, but often miſcarried.

But this onely body of men, (the Rump) tho' they diſlike ſeverall things of the Officers Petition, yet ſeem to approve all; for they gaine this maine point, *that the* new Protector ſhould ſneakingly lay down his Commiſſion; and from 20000*l.* *per annum* (10000 *l.* whereof was to be an inheritance, and 10000 *l.* for life, and 8000 *l.* for his mothers life) all reſolves it ſelf into 20000 *l. per annum* for his ſubſiſtence; and in concluſion that never to be paid: and he had warning given him to remove from Whitehall within ſix dayes. And they thought it ſitt likewiſe to recall his younger brother, Henry, Lord Lievtenant of Ireland from thence; who with the ſame meekneſs of ſpirit, as his brother, tamely lays down his charge. And thus the ſons in their ambitions differed

The ſpeedy downfall or condition of Cromwells family.

fered from their Father; and the bonfire of ſtraw or great blaze of Cromwells family is extinguiſht, and buried in its own aſhes: which if he could have foreſeen, he would not have thought providence ſo much his friend, as during his whole life he entitled himſelf unto. Or indeed if the firſt Reformers, or rather Underminers, and all the ſucceſſive factions, that followed after them, and which continued even unto this day in motion, had foreſeen, how fruſtrate their deſignes, or how ſubventaneous or addle their eggs would have proved, *Vitaſſet cœlum Phaeton*; ſurely they would never have ſcorch't their own country, and burnt themſelves in thoſe flames, they themſelves had raiſed. But the deceit is, even thoſe men, who have moſt integrity of thoughts, (without reflecting upon a ſelfe-ended deſigner; for he is a down-right knave) if ſtrongly they affect any thing, and can juſtly complain of any ſmall inconvenience in a matter ſetled, (which will never be wanting in any State, while men govern) they preſently promiſe themſelves, that whatever they project, ſhall come to paſs; not diſcerning the ill conſequence of what they have not experimented. But had the firſt Deſigners of our changes had grace to have conſidered the iniquity and obliquity

The diſappointments to all the Innovators.

The incogitancy of moſt ſorts of men in time of danger.

obliquity of their wayes, by laying their actions to the rule of the law, (for it is true principles, not warme inventions, which with God and wiſe men will denominate a good ſubject) they would not have bin diſciples of the old Lord Say, who publickly in the Houſe of Lords avowed to a Biſhop (making uſe of that ſentence, That evil was not to be done, that good might come thereof) that that was not to be underſtood in relation unto publick changes, but unto private mens affairs: or had they had this ſobriety of thoughts, that it became wiſemen never to overthrow one government, till they were aſſured, that all their own party at leaſt would conforme unto what in lieu thereof ſhould be ſett up: or would yet the vulgar or multitude of men, after the experience of ſo many ages in our Eutopia, (or country) at leaſt have learnt to know, how the few crafty deceive the numerous rabble, and that one boy can drive a whole herd out of a plentifull paſture into a bare common, or into a butchers ſhambles, they would have endeavoured to have ſhaken off a ſcriptural phraſe, which termes the multitude, The beaſt of the field: or would the cautious, ſober, and diſcerning men, who will not concern themſelves in the danger, till involved

volved in the miſery, timely obſerve and withſtand the art of Innovators, who ſett up the ſtrength of the multitude againſt the wiſdome of experienced counſellors, (which is an incumbent duty both by Gods law and mans on them) the deformity of popular and tumultuous reformation would have appeared ſo formidable, that, as in the naturall body, the hand voluntarily expoſes it ſelf unto danger to ſave the head; ſo in the politick, it is the duty of every honeſt man timely to aſſiſt the tottering or undermined State; for we ſee, when the firſt opportunity is loſt, the danger is ſeldom prevented. If any of theſe thoughts had prevailed with the men of this generation, they would very probably have early ſecured their own peace, and never have affected a reformation, but by ways of peace. The ignorance of one ſort of men, and the indifferency of the other, makes this rather to be wiſht, than hoped for in any age. Any of theſe thoughts might have preſerved our old King, and our old laws; but the want of them daſht us againſt one another, and made us ſpend our ſtrength and our treaſure to ſecure falſe titles and imaginary principles.

The next ſcene is the Armys working upon it ſelf, countenanced by the authority

The diſtemper of the Army within it ſelf.

rity of theſe Rumpers, whereof young Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, and
Fleetwood. Scott were the chief. Fleetwood was voted Generall of the army: but theſe Gownmen or Councellors of State are joyned in commiſſion with him, to approve all commiſſions, that he ſhall give to any Officers. After this follows ano-
Lambert. ther twiſt of the guts; for Lambert preſently becom's the great man of the Army; and yet is not intruſted in placing the Officers; for both he and all the reſt of them are to receive their commiſſions from the Speaker, that they might learn, on whom to depend; and kiſſing *will* ſtill go by favour: for now the chiefe Officers, that were affected to Cromwell, or were ſuſpected with Monk, are to be removed, and others of their own principles advanced. But this experienced brave old Commander, Monk, having received letters or orders about new commiſſions, he could read the character preſently, and knew what it meant; and takes ſuch notice of it, that he by his reply ſeems rather ready to lay down his commiſſion, than his honor in having his under-Officers not to depend on him; tho' very probably he was machinating nothing leſs.

The

The Nation is disturb'd at all this, and seemed to have bin made the maygame of fortune. And therefore without the least reflexion in favor of the King, they appear all dissatisfied with this Rump of Parliament; and an hasty plott there was for a general rising in all Counties in demand of a free Parliament, or at least, that the Members secluded from 1648. should all be admitted to sitt, as well as others were, who were allowed by the Army. But vigilant Scott, and Haslerigg, and the watchfull chiefe Officers, had made a discovery of this generall designe by severall wayes; tho' an intercepted letter to a Lady is pretended to have given them the first knowledge of it. So as these Southern parts not rising at the time appointed, they soon disanimate the rest. And tho' a disposition and preparation thereunto was known in most parts; yet there was no appearance made, excepting a faint one about Rufford-Abbey, the Lady Savils residence, and a considerable one in Cheshire, and those neighboring counties, which were principally headed by Sir George Booth, but directed by some good Officers; and had they had time given them, or not a disheartning by the non-appearance of other counties, most probably, by what they

The Nation in general, disturbed with these frequent changes, demands a free Parliament.

The rising of Sir George Booth in Cheshire.

they did with a handful of men, it may be conjectured, what they would have done with thoſe great numbers, which would have flockt in to them, had others done their parts. But this noble Lord (for ſo he is now) and his party thus diſperſt by Lambert, and the Parliament being freed from the fear of this dangerous and generally intended riſing, they become more peremptory and poſitive in their commands on the Army; and the Army valuing themſelves upon their good fortune and victory, they become leſs obſervant of their Maſters commands; which the others perceiving, they draw over Monk or the Scotch Army to them, which Lamberts Army and his Party in London ſenſible of, they reſolve to weaken this Army firſt by factions among themſelves, to countenance which Lambert marches towards the Scotch borders, and there to improve his deſigne, as any emergency gave an opportunity. But here fortune, who had thus long ſmiled on him, now reſolved to faile, and laugh at him; and ſo we will leave him for a time.

The ſtanding Army governs arbitrarily.

Thus whatever the conſtituent parts of a government are, if a ſtanding army be in being, and be headed by a Cromwell or a Lambert, the government may well be reckoned to conſiſt of army, as well as

King,

King, Lords, and Commons. For brutiſh power will ſoon rank it ſelfe with reaſonable and legall authority. And thus we find the Pretorian Bands did among the Romans, one while ſetting up, and at another depoſing their Emperors, and thus we ſee our Army hath done with their Maſters thro'-out this whole unnatural inteſtine warr; for armys, as they are often neceſſary to maintain the peace of a nation: (at leaſt good Guards; that the Princes's perſon may not be ſurpriſed by every tumultuous City, or riſing in it; for two thouſand of ſuch men at firſt would have ſecured our late King and our peace) ſo when they are numerous, and have an ambitious Generall, or ſome mutinous, agitating, and levelling ſpirits among them, they will firſt diſturb the power, they were raiſed to ſecure, (as ours did the two Houſes their Maſters) and then they will operate upon their own body: and Agitators muſt be Tribunes for the common ſoldiers; and if the chief Officers meet in council in one place, the inferior will in another; and the common man, if he pleaſe, will turn Leveller, and be governed by Plebeians. All which in our own ſtory is evidence enough to ſhew, that if men will caſt off the rules of ſubjection, which God

hath preſcribed, (who hath directed all to be under the authority of one, to the end there may be no diverſity of commands) and will caſt themſelves into factions and parties, they then, and not till then, may be juſtly reckoned a nation divided againſt it ſelfe; and there can be no peace, where there is no ſteddines of counſel; or where factions are raiſed. For every faction is an oppoſition unto the ſtanding law; and that will by ſome or other be abetted; and therefore no man can enter into ſuch a ſociety, as oppoſes this law, and be guiltleſs; and few there are, who do it, that are fortunate; whilſt he that adheres to the law, *may* be diſturbed in his perſon and eſtate, but is quiet in his mind, and by the goodnes of divine Providence moſt commonly finds ſome ſhelter in the ſtorm, and by his integrity hath his root better fixed after it. For if men in legall and ſetled authority are moſt commonly maligned and envied, Intruders will be ſoon diſobeyed and caſt off: for every man will think, that as he hath as much right to ſet up a new form of government, as another; ſo he hath as much wit; and therefore one faction moſt commonly begets (as well as it is oppoſed by) another: and factions can never be true to themſelves,

How rebellions breed factions, and how hard it is for factions long to keep cloſe together.

becauſe

becauſe they have no certain rule to proceed upon. And thus if they begin all of one mind, yet they cannot continue long ſo; ſince every important action, wherein they receive any check, muſt force them to vary even their firſt principles and deſignes. In which changes they are unlikely to find an univerſal concurrence even in their own body; which runs them into ſubdiviſions among themſelves. All which, as it was the aime of theſe papers from the firſt to ſhew, ſo I mett with a book no longer, ſince than yeſterday (May the 18th 1677. when I was thus farr advanced in this ſtory, written by that learned Judge Hales, being reflexions upon the life of Pomponius Atticus, that I cannot but thus interlard ſome of his obſervations; becauſe his authority, as well as his reaſon, may very probably prevaile with the men of this age, who are too apt to tread in the ſame ſtepps of their late Predeceſſors. In laying down this whole Hiſtory, I am ſure my intent is no other, than to warn the Prince, as well as the Subject, that if he would preſerve his own peace and ſecurity, he muſt preſerve his eſtabliſht religion and laws; and if the ſubject would claim the benefit of the law, he muſt lett it be expounded by the com-

mon uſage, and the known expoſitions, that the Judges of the land make thereof; and not fly into a prevailing faction in a Houſe of Commons, or in both Houſes: or if he would have any thing altered, that he ſeek it in its proper place, and obtain it by its proper means; *viz.* a free and unconſtrained conſent both of Commons, Lords, and King: that they neither uſe fraud nor force to obtain their ends, but patiently wait, till ſuch a conjunction of time come, as that they may obtain them by the due and legall means, which lead thereunto: nor vainly think, that men can live under any government, where there are no failures: and conſider, that it is much better to bear the ſmart of an angry pimple, than to rubb it into a ſore, and then apply ſuch medicines, as draw down the whole humor of the body to that ſore, and to raiſe ſuch an inflammation, as may foul the bone, and begett a gangreen; and no gangreen is more mortall, than diffidence and diſtruſt betwixt the Governor and the Repreſentatives of them, that are to be governed. For that man, that is afraid of his own ſword, dares not draw it to defend himſelf, leaſt it penetrate his own bowells, and ſo he truſts his enemy, rather than his champion. The new experience of this

this God avert from this Kingdom; and God grant, that the one give no occaſion of this diſtruſt, nor the other take it, or by cauſeleſs diſtruſt draw it on him themſelves.

The proceſs or way of management of the jealouſies between Lambert and the Grandees of Parliament.

But to return to our ſtory. Haſlerig acquainted with the confederation of the Army, preſently ſtomacks it; and the Army is wrought on to make ſome ſubmiſſive petition; which when it came to be penned, was a down right expoſtulation; for they deſire, that whoever informed the Parliament againſt the Army, might be brought to condigne puniſhment: and that ſince no Army could be governed without a Martiall law, they might be fully authorized therein. They pretend, every freeman hath a right to petition, much more the body of the Army; and are anſwered, that then they ought to be very carefull of the matter of their Petition, that it be peaceable, and tending to the honor of the Parliament. And here is another twiſt of the gutts, and the Mercury, which muſt make way thro' this, is a private intelligence betwixt Haſlerig and Monk. Monk promiſes to aſſert their authority, and to march into England. In the mean time to ſeparate the ſoldier from his Officer, the leading Members of Parliament plott, and declare,

they are making proviſion for the payment of the arrears of the common ſoldiers; and that they would make aſſignations to them out of the eſtates of Delinquents (that is to ſay, the King, the Churches, and the loyall Subjects forfeited eſtates) as they called them; and leaſt the army ſhould raiſe money by their own authority, they ſett forth, that whatever ſingle perſon or aggregate body ſhould raiſe money without the authority of Parliament, ſhould be accounted a Traytor. Monk heartning them, theſe Parliament-men are the more reſolute; and they are caſting *the* Army into a new modell; and Fleetwood, Monk, Ludlow, Haſlerig, Morley, Walton, and Overton, as Commiſſioners, are to have the authority of a Lievtenant-Generall; and this is countenanced by Haſlerig's party. But Lambert's party meet to interrupt this, and they chooſe ten perſons, as a Councel of State, *viz.* Fleetwood, Lambert, Whitlock, Vane, Desborough, Sir James Harrington, Major Salway, Colonel Berry, and Sydenham, and that inſinuating Scott, Archibald Johnſton; and theſe men have that black deſigne of really confiſcating all the eſtates of the Kings party, and diſpoſing them into the hands of their own: nay ſome ſaid,

The danger the Kings party was in

ſaid, of maſſacring the chiefe of them. Which reſolution, tho' in a Chriſtian Common-wealth may ſeem very diſmall; yet it is not to be expected, that the powers, which by injuſtice have raiſed themſelves, being in danger, ſhould ſpare others, and preferr their ſecurity before their own. And Hiſtory makes it plain, that in moſt places, where natural policy prevailes, proſcriptions, and confiſcations, and even death it ſelf follows ſuſpected perſons and neutralls, as well as oppoſers; tho' theſe outragious proceedings never long proſpered: divine providence uſually puniſhing ſuch cruelty with ſuch miſadventures, as the actors of it could not foreſee, or would not believe, till the whipp was upon the back.

Things were grown now to that highth, that Lamberts party will not let the Parliament men meet, but ſtopps the very Speaker in Kings-ſtreet in his paſſage to the Houſe, and makes him return: and the Regiments face one another, but have ſo much witt, as to forbear acts of hoſtility: and yet all this both on one ſide and the other muſt be interpreted a maintaining of the priviledges of Parliament; but the conſequence of this was, this Parliament mett no more. And now the Men of the Armyes party raiſe a

A new modell of Government.

Committee of Safety of twenty three persons, to execute all the powers of the late Council of State; and changes come on so fast, that (as an English man) I am ashamed to mention them. But sagacious Monk all this while steddily proceeds, and lets the Army know by a courteous letter, how dangerous it was to displace Officers with him, but by sentence of a Court-Martiall, or by the authority of himselfe, as Generall; for otherwise the inferior Officers would be apt to affront the superior, or to withstand the civil authority; and he privately intimated to some of the Parliament men, that if they would resolutely assert their own authority, he would justifie it; and this animates them to proceed in displacing those disaffected to them.

Monk abetts the Parliament against the Army.

And now his great sagacity and good fortune come upon the stage to perfect the last scene; and he was a man cutt out to do such a work. For he was a Gentleman of a good birth and blood; for his Ancestors were derived from Arthur Plantagenet, naturall son to Edward IV. by Elisabeth Lucy, his Concubine; which Arthur married the daughter of Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, sister and heir to John her brother: the rest I leave unto the Heralds; (and so none was more proper

His Character.

to

to reſtore the Royall line, than he, that had this conſanguinity with it, tho' much time hath elaps't ſince) He was a perſon of a naturall and intrepid courage, and who had made the ſword his profeſſion, as ſoon as ever he was able to weild it: he was bred up under great Captains, and very early taken notice of by that great Prince and Soldier, Henry of Orange. He was a man of deep thoughts and few words; and what he wanted in elocution, he had in judgment; and he had a naturall ſecrecy in him, prevalent upon all theſe qualifications of a Soldier, which made him ſo fitt an inſtrument in the hand of divine providence to work his Majeſties reſtauration. Hence he carried it all ſo cloſely, that I believe no man to this day can poſitively ſay, that he deſigned any more, than a generall quiet of the land: and ſo he framed his deſigns, ſuitable to the opportunities, that were given him; but that he wiſh't, that that might be procured by the means of his Majeſties happy return, no man can rationally doubt. And in this he ſhewed the ſolidity of his judgment, in that when deſpairing Haſlerig and his party offered him the crown, it was no temptation to him.

Monk

Monks firſt policyes to make his own Army firme to himſelfe.

Monk being now to cutt out his modell, like a good Workman, firſt looks after his tools, and ſo ſeparating his Army in Scotland into ſeverall places, that they might not (if any ſuch humor was in them) confederate together; he ſo lays this deſigne, that on a ſudden he changes ſuch Officers, as he knew unſecure to him, and well affected to his Oppoſers; and having preſerved ſuch of his Officers, as the Council of the Army here in England had reſolved to remove, he knew theſe men would be well fix'd to him, and ſo as he had opportunity, advanced them: and he had ſo many good Agents among his common ſoldiers, that the diſaffected Officers had no great influence upon them. For his conjunction with the Civill power was a great aſſurance to his Army, that they ſhould be well paid and provided for: and his Declaration unto the Civill power, that he reſolved, that the Military ſhould be ſubſervient to them, put them at great eaſe, that this Army would not be ſo reſtleſs, and humerous, and uncontrollable, as the other.

And thus all changes are very hopefull, but uſually, when grounded upon faction, as deceitfull, one as the other; for upon a moveable thing (as faction is)

an

an immoveable (as peace ſhould be) cannot be well ſett. Soon after this follows as great an inſtance of Gods (not mans) governing the world: (and of his working light out of darknes, and of the periods, that he gives to men's and ſtates proſperity, ſetting bounds and limitts thereunto, that men may acknowledge, that it is not their ſword, but his hand that helps them, or that it is he, that takes away or ſetts the edge of the ſword) as perchance many ages in any Hiſtory hath afforded. For hence forward Lamberts veteran, proſperous, and lately victorious Army ſeems emaſculated, and gives as little inſtance of courage, as of counſell or conduct: for they perceiving, that Monk was deſigning to ſupport that power, that they were intending much to leſſen, if not overthrow, they ſeem on a ſudden to be amated; and Lambert thus unſteddy, Monk and he interchange ſome letters, which Monk did, that he might protract time the better, and modell his Army: and like a wiſe Generall, having a very good reputation every where, where he had bin, he writes into Ireland to ſatisfie that Army of his intentions, and he propoſes to Fleetwood, and the great men of the Army at London, to ſend up Commiſſioners amongſt them, to

ſhew,

ſhew, that his deſigne was no more, than to preſerve the rights of the people, and the liberties of Parliament. He holds intelligence with ſome active and leading Miniſters, eſpecially one Mr. Bowles at York, who had great influence upon the Lord Fairfax; for he knew, how conſiderable that great man was in thoſe parts; and with ſome old Officers likewiſe, eſpecially one Smithſon. On the other ſide, the Southern Army, with the countenance of the Independent Churches, think it not unneceſſary to ſend ſome Commiſſioners to Monk into Scotland, and the men of God, who had decryed and outed the Biſhops for medling with any thing, that was ſecular, civill, or military, from the very beginning of theſe revolutions, are the active inſtruments in all important Secular or Military affairs, as hath been touch't upon already: and therefore now Mr. Caryll (a great Independent Miniſter) is principally to manage this affair with Monk; and *he is* to let him know, how fatall ſuch a breach, as was like to be, would prove to the people of God; that the Independent Churches would not interpoſe or juſtifie the right of either party; but they thought it fitt to lay before Monk, that his province was onely to keep Scotland quiet,

Commiſſioners ſent to Monk.

and

and not to engage in the differences of England; and therefore since he could not have any true information of the state of affairs, nor had he any call thereunto, (for he was not Phanatick enough to pretend to that) it became him not to interpose. In the mean time whilst Monks Commissioners were treating in London, and these with him in Scotland, he had gained so much time, as to purge the disaffected Officers out of his own Army; tho' they were neither inconsiderable men, nor of a very small number. And tho' his Commissioners at London had made up a rash peace, yet did he not want dexterity to cavill upon seeming good reasons, and to require a further explanation. All this while Lamberts Army (as if it had a damp or blast from heaven put upon it) makes no brisk progress or advance towards Scotland; onely they marched as far as Newcastle, which prevented Monks first design of surprising that place; and there passed frivolous Treaties betwixt him and some of Lamberts Officers. But in the mean time Monk holds close correspondence with Scott and Haslerig, and those of the Council of State here; and he writes unto the City of London, that it became them to be more active in the vindicating their

their own liberties, than hitherto they had bin; and thus he keeps up the fermentation thro' the whole body. And that he might appear to proceed deliberately and calmely, and not to give jealousy, that he was giving way to the Scots, either to cast off the yoke, which they lay under, or to arme themselves; or that his kindnes and better usage of them, than formerly, should raise any new jealousies, that the King was in the bottom of this designe, he leaves such garrisons in Scotland in such important places, and so aptly disposes them, that they might communicate and assist each other, and be able to bridle the Scots, if they innovated. And he gives the Scotch Nobility no further leave to arme themselves, than might secure them from surprisalls at home, if in his absence by a contrary Party danger to that Nation should appear.

Monk's march into England.

And now with the main of his body he draws to England, and fixes his camp along the river Tweed at a town, called the Cold-stream; and this encourages the Councill of State here at London so to own him, as to send him a Commission to be Generall of all the forces in England and Scotland. The City of London is now animated to refuse taxes, and send by their Sword-bearer a particular mes-

sage

ſage to him. Portſmouth declares, if not for Monk, yet for Monks Declaration: and that eminent Sea-man, and moſt generous hearted and intelligent Perſon, Lawſon, (for I had afterwards good acquaintance with him, when he was highly loyall) did the like with the Fleet. And the Iriſh Brigade here in England brake off from Lambert, and are brought over unto Monk. Nay even in Ireland, the chiefe of the Army there ſeem to own his proceedings; and London and Portſmouth and the Fleet ſo ſtartle Lambert, that being unwilling to grapple with Monk in Scotland, whether by his own intimidations or parties advice, is uncertain, he chooſes rather to retreat and aſſiſt his friends at London, and to reduce Portſmouth, than to conteſt Monk, or ſecure the North. And now not onely others, but his own Army look upon him in a dwindling condition; and ſo theſe newes's and want of pay, (which had preſt him for ſome time) daily diſpirit and leſſen his army: but what gave them their deaths wound was, that they underſtood Fleetwood was now truly enlightened, and had laid down his Commiſſion, and acknowledged, that the hand of God was upon them, and blaſted their counſells, and ſpitt in their faces. And thus they muſt end in Scriptural phraſes,

Fleetwood layes downe his Commiſſion.

as

as they began their rebellion with misapplications of texts of Scripture; for untill this time all that was applicable unto Gods people, was ſtill applicable unto them; and their cauſe muſt be ſuppoſed to be Gods cauſe; and then *Meroz, and all that came not out to their aſſiſtance, was to be curſt bitterly, becauſe they came not out to the help of the Lord againſt the mighty*; when at the ſame time they were hunting the Anointed of the Lord, as a partridge upon the mountaines; and God was to be praiſed for the avenging of his Iſrael, *when the people willingly offered themſelves, and when the governors of the land offered themſelves willingly among the people*: and when they were exerciſing the highth of their cruelty againſt their brethren, they had (forſooth) commiſſion from heaven to do it: for God had made them an harrow even with teeth. And I remember among many other ſuch miſapplications, I took great notice once, how ſatisfied Cromwells ſpirit was, when he interlarded in one of his letters out of Ireland, that he did hope, *God would deliver him from the wrongfull dealings of men, that ſo he might keep his commandments*: that was, as I conceived, to deliver him from the uncompliant part of his own army; for he look't for obedience

dience from them, when he had paid it neither to his Prince, nor his Maſters, the two Houſes: but few ſmell their own dung. And thus this meteor being burnt out, and ending in a ſtench, we will conclude this part of this ſtory with a Scripture phraſe likewiſe, that *doubtleſs there is a God, that judgeth in the earth*; and pray, that men would truly conſider things by the law of God, the rule of their actions, before they apply thoſe generall words of Scripture, which juſtifie or condemn an action, leaſt they take the name of God in vain.

The generall deſire of ſettlement throughout the kingdom.

We are now come unto our laſt ſtage; and as ſeditious tumults overthrew our laws, ſo now the ſeditious tumultuaries, ſenſible of their own intanglements, are poſſeſt with generall and violent paſſions to be reſtored to ſuch ſetled laws, as may free them from the diſorders and miſeries, which their firſt tumults had brought them into: therefore the Poet was a Prophet, that ſett down the beginning, and foretold the end of ſuch like troubles in this diſtic: *viz.*

Principium fuit abs iratâ plebe tumultus,
Finis ab iratâ plebe tumultus erit.

For it hath ever bin obſerved, that multitudes in commotions, as they uſually

overthrow thro' ignorance and by violence ſetled and antient governments; ſo after a little experience they find licence or licentiouſneſs will never have wiſdom enough to plant true liberty: and then they diſcern their preſent ſtate of liberty to be much worſe, than their former ſtate, which loudly they called ſervitude.

The Army in theſe times ſeek their aſylum in a Parliament.

Fleetwood having thus laid down his charge, diſtracted thoughts muſt needs poſſeſs his army; and they, that could not depend upon themſelves, muſt ſeek a ſupport from ſome other body: and therefore now they are to call together the Parliament again; for this falſe taile (or word Parliament) was to be tyed to any dock't rump; and ſo ſeveral Members meeting at the Speakers houſe, whither came divers of the Colonells, they draw up the regiments in Lincolns-Inn-fields, and the Speaker aſſumes the chair, and then

New goverment of it.

Popham, Thompſon, Sir Anthony Aſhly Cooper, Alured, and Markham are commiſſionated to order and conduct the Army, and to ſuppreſs the inſurrections &c. and to obſerve the directions of Parliament. And the firſt thing theſe new Maſters do, is to command Lambert to diſband his forces; and that we may perceive, that this was Gods, and not mans, hand, as Monk was now leaving Scotland

land in a ſecure and peaceable ſtate, and himſelfe marching into England with the groſs of his Army: (which was very ſmall and inconſiderable to do his work, unleſs both the time and the work had bin Gods; for his army was not above 4000 effective good foot, and under 1000 horſe, and Lamberts and the army at London was twice as many) ſo in Ireland the like inclinations are found, and Dublin caſtle is ſurpriſed, and the Governor Jones, and the Commiſſioner Gorbet, and many other conſiderable perſons were taken in it, and Sir Charles Coot overcomes all his difficulties at Connaught: and into England Monk finds his march ſo open and free, that all the way up to London he meets with congratulations and addreſſes, civilities and honors, but nothing of oppoſition or diſputes; and the late Generall, the Lord Fairfax, now joyning with him, (tho' the Governour of Hull, Overton, ſtood miſaffected) throughout all Yorkſhire nothing appears againſt him; and as he approaches nearer London, he hath more obſervances; the Parliament, the City, the great Lords, all ſend meſſages, and diſcover ſomewhat by that pulſe of their deſires; and his temper was ſo fitted to underſtand other mens thoughts, and conceal his own, that it is an eaſie

Changes in Ireland.

thing to know, whoſe inſtrument he was, and to whom to attribute all this.

Clarges and Morris.

We are told by a certain Writer, who it was, that principally managed his affairs, *viz.* Mr. Clarges, (who was his wives brother, and who was known to be an active and buſy perſon) and after ſome time, or upon his coming to London, how Mr. Morris, afterwards Sir William, and Secretary of State, was called up to him from the Weſt, who was a very good Scholar, (if he uſed it not a little too much) and a man of a ſober judgment, and well affected to the peace of this Nation. Theſe two perſons, eſpecially Clarges, in that Hiſtory are repreſented, as giving him ſtill ſuch advices, as diſintricated him from many difficulties; but ſo little is aſſigned either to himſelfe or Morris, that I think he had not right done him; for by what I learn't from ſeverall, that were ſent unto him upon the way, and who treated with him ſingly, he ſeemed to me the great maſter and conductor of his own affairs; and that that important counſel, which was to remove the Parliament or Lamberts army at London out of it into ſeparate and diſtant places and quarters, to make way, that his army might ſingly quarter in and about it, ſhould be drawn out of any quiver

The Engliſh or Lamberts army removed out of London, to make way for Monks Scotch-Engliſh Army.

ver, but his own, being buſines within his own ſphere and profeſſion, ſeems an intrenchment on his foreſight. But this is certain, that the greateſt men ſtand in need of active and able Miniſters, when they are engaged in ſuch important affairs, as this great man was at this time: and therefore I would have every one of them have their due ſhare of their merits, and no more; for it was very obvious, had not the two Armies bin kept from mingling, they would hardly have bin kept from quarrelling.

Monks march into London.

All things thus clear for his reception at London, he was brought in with great triumph; and the reputation of his valour, and his ſubtilty in conducting and making uſe of an army, and the conjunctures of time ſo allayed the late ſurges of our tempeſtuous ſeas, that all things ſeem'd now becalmed. And yet after this, we ſhall find a change or two more; for Haſlerig and his party being now on the top of the wheel, they could manage nothing without violence, paſſion, and headineſs; and therefore having contributed ſo much towards the removing of all Monks difficulties, they thought Monk was equally obliged to maintaine and ſettle all they had projected. So as here is another twiſt of the gutts; for the Mer-

Haſlerig's activity and his diſappointment.

cury had not yet paſſed thro' Haſlerig and his party. Therefore that they might dipp Monk at firſt into a ſcarlet dye, or involve him in the ſame crimes with themſelves, an oath is prepared for the Council of State, and Members of Parliament: which abjures the King and the Houſe of Lords. This divers of the ſobereſt Members of Parliament refuſing, he takes ſanctuary under that example, and recommends to them rather the quieting the fermentation among themſelves, than raiſing of it either in that Houſe, or in the Kingdom in generall. But his caution was neither rudely rejected, nor *kindly* entertained. Next the danger of reſtoring the King and Houſe of Lords, that which this prevailing body of men apprehended moſt, was the convening the ſecluded Members, and in this he kept himſelfe very much undiſcovered, and was the ſafer thereby; and unleſs it were to his two Confidents (tho' moſt of the Addreſſes, that were made to him by the Nobility and Gentry upon the way had a tendency thereunto, or rather for a new free Parliament) he was undiſcernible.

Monk conducted to the Houſe of Commons.

With great ceremony he is conducted to the Houſe of Commons; and you muſt think a very learned and eloquent Speech was made to him, when an illiterate and

and even ungrammatical man (Lenthal the Speaker) made it: for ſo certainly he was. Herein they acknowledge his great ſervices, and complement them; he profeſſes his great obligations, and reſolution of ſerving them. But at the core both ſides ſoon began to putrifie, and (like a pear) we may perceive, that the tranſition from ripe to rotten was very ſpeedy. For they are not long, before he obſerves, that they call him Commiſſioner Monk, not Generall, and he as ſoon dives into the meaning. And now ariſes a new neglect of this new government: for the City of London deſiring to be excuſed from paying of taxes, till the Parliament was filled with a juſt number of Repreſentatives, Haſlerig, and Scott, and the reſt of the generall Council of State take ſuch an offence thereat, that they think to employ their new unſatisfied Generall upon a deſign, that would be too hard for him, or was like to make him odious: (and we know the number of his ſoldiers for the doing ſo great a work was very ſmall) and he is required by the Parliament to ſeize on the perſons of eleven eminent, but refractory, Citizens, (whereof he took in his cuſtody nine) and to commit them to the Tower, and to pull down the poſts and chains of the a-

Monk's jeſuitiſms.

The City of Londons backwardneſs to pay taxes.

venues, and at last to take down the gates and portcullices of the City, and to quarter his soldiers there. Which command being very unpleasing to himselfe as well as to his own Commanders and soldiers, and some of the wisest Citizens humbly and submissively reasoning the same with him, he writes to the House to mitigate the severity of his orders: but they the more inflamed at it, make their directions the more positive. But he observing the temper of his new Masters, and the resolvednes of the City, and having some whispers, what they meant to do with him, in case he returned among them, he thought it wiser to conciliate the great Corporation to him, than to depend on his new Masters, to whom if he had returned, it was verily believed, they would have sent his head to one place, and his body to another. And therefore valuing his own strength with the conjunction of this body of men, and the inclinations of the whole nation, and he having wrought upon divers of the Commanders of the other part of the Army, he thought he had passed Rubicon: and therefore was with speed to maintaine, what he had with so much resolution begun. Whereupon he immediately writes to the House of Parliament, (as they called it) and complains

Monks taking party with them.

Writes to the House to fill up their number.

plains of Lamberts and Vanes and Ludlows being too much countenanced by them againſt him, and that the moſt ſober and conſcientious Laymen and Miniſters of the kingdom were excluded from employment in either kind, by tendring them oaths, which they could not take: whereupon he grounds a deſire, that within two or three dayes they would iſſue out Writs to fill up their numbers; that this body ſitting ſome time, a full and freely elected Houſe of Parliament might ere long ſucceed them. The Houſe diſſembles the reſentment they have of this letter, and Scott is ſent unto him to aſſure him of their high opinion of his ſervices, and to recall him to his lodgings at Whitehall again. But he reſolves, having reconciled himſelf to the Citizens, not to change his poſt, and in London he admits a conference between the ſecluded and ſitting Parliament men. And the reſult is, that the ſecluded Perſons ſhould be readmitted: and that new Writts ſhould iſſue out for the ſummoning of a Parliament to meet at Weſtminſter the twentieth day of Aprill 1660. And that the ſecluded Members might ſecurely take their places, he marches now down to Whitehall with his Army, and cauſes his guards to ſecure their paſſage to the Houſe; and

The ſecluded Members readmitted, and a new Parliament ſummoned.

and then to his own army and the diſperſt regiments he gives aſſurance, that nothing was intended by all this of alteration of government, but that it ſhould continue as a free State and Common-wealth; and more amply to the other regiments, that lay diſperſt, he communicates the ſame by ſeverall letters.

Monk tempted to take on him the crown.

The ſecluded Members thus admitted, Haſlerig and ſome other Leaders addreſs to him, and tempt him to take upon him the government it ſelfe: and tho' he refuſed it, yet he uſed them civilly, and promiſed Haſlerig, if he would acquieſce, he ſhould find all ſecurity: and the Ambaſſador of the King of France, having winded this propoſition, finds means for a conference with Clarges, and to deſire by him to aſſure the Generall, that if he had any aime to aſſume the government himſelfe, his Maſter would be a very ſteddy friend to him; or if his eye was caſt upon the King, he would be miniſteriall thereunto; (for he that had diſmiſt him his own country, would have bin very loath to have ſeen his Majeſty returne home without his having bin inſtrumentall therein; or he that had caſt in ſome of his coloquintida into our pottage all this time, was unwilling, it ſhould want a little of his cookery now.) But tho'

The French Ambaſſador buſy.

this

this wiſe Generall admitted a reſpectfull conference with him; yet he made him ſoon perceive, he was not ſuſceptible of French counſells. And the Generall was tempted by an offer of Hampton Court,& the lands thereunto belonging,to be ſetled on him and his heirs; which he refuſed; but afterwards took the ſtewardſhip thereof. The Parliament thus mett, they make an aſſeſſment of 100000 *l. per menſem* for ſix months: they ſettle the Militia both in the City and Counties: they abrogate the Engagement againſt the King; and take it off of the file: they repeale the Act for the former Council of State; and make a new Council conſiſting of 31 men, wherein were Pierpoint and Crew, Lord Fairfax and Hollis, Sir Anthony Aſhly-Cooper and Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Lord chief Juſtice St. Johns and Sir Harbottle Grimſton &c. theſe Gentlemen I mention, that we may know, who at that time predominated. Some of the old Officers of the old Army begin to mutiny againſt the Parliament and Council, as if this body of men were in the direct way of bringing in the King. The Generall quiets all, telling them, that they were not long now to ſitt, that a new and free Parliament was to meet; and that all perſons, that had bin of the Kings party, were to be

A Tax of 100000 *l. per menſem* for 6 months.

The Generalls policy to quiet the mutinyes of the Officers of the old Army.

be ſecluded fom all employment both in State and Army: and with theſe anodynes he hinders further fermentation. Upon the diſſolution of this Parliament, a new one being called, let the prohibitions be what they would, elections are freely made of the Royal party; for they had made addreſſes, expreſſing their amicable diſpoſitions and inclinations to a generall amneſty, and their readines to obſerve the determination of the exſpected Parliament. And therefore it cannot be now thought, but that it was a fitt ſeaſon for the King to make addreſſes to the leading, men and for them to make profeſſions to him of their inclinations to revert to their duty. And after ſome time, the great Lords, Warwick, and Manchester, and Say, and ſome chiefe Members, have private conferences with ſome perſons of the Kings party, as Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Geoffry Palmer, and my ſelfe, the unworthieſt. Not many weeks after, without the knowledge of the Lords, Mr. Anneſly (now Lord privy Seal) Sir Anthony Aſhly Cooper, and Sir William Morris mett with the ſame perſons from the Generall: to the end that the King might ſee their good inclinations thro' a medium, which was not likely to deceive him. And tho' they did the ſame thing

Elections of ſeverall of the Kings party.

Conferences between ſeverall Lords and ſome of the Kings friends.

thing afterwards themſelves by particular Meſſengers, whom they ſent over to the King; yet they thought this a good means early to be rightly underſtood: and the Generall was ſo well ſatisfied, that he confeſt, that there was not a meeting in town, but he had ſome intelligence of it, ſave of this; which aſſured him of their ſecrecy, and yet he knew not, that the ſame perſons mett at the ſame time with the Lords.

This I ſay not to creep into a little ſhare in bringing back our King; for from the bottom of my heart I think, that it is a ſacrilege to rob Gods providence of any part of it; unto him belongs the glory of the whole, who onely can rule the unruly affections of men: he only could ſtill this ſtorme, and allay the madnes of this people. If he had not in this work made his own arme bare, and his interpoſition viſible, mans wiſdom or policy had never brought it about; down right force (and that muſt have bin forraign) was improbable to heve done it: but to effect it by bowing the hearts of all Iſrael to their exiled David, and without blood, could be no hand, but his, who ſaid, *he would utterly deſtroy Iſrael, but ſave Judah, but not by the bow or ſword.* And he that out of the ſeries of this ſtory

makes

makes not this obſervation himſelfe, deſerves not a proofe thereof by a recapitulation of the particulars. Next unto the divine hand, not the honor, but the iſſue of it is due to the firſt rebellious principles of all our Innovators; for a wiſe, loyal, and noble Lord was wont to ſay, that theſe principles were ſo falſe and ſo pernicious, that they had ſcarce left virtue enough among men to keep ſociety peaceably and beneficially together. They were made to overthrow, but not to ſettle any government, but after they have been experimented, they are diſcovered; and men grow weary of them, and as a naturall conſequent thereof, are ready to reſettle themſelves upon that foundation, which they had overthrown.

Theſe two things well weighed, the great man, Generall Monk, may well have aſſigned to him the reſt: for tho' he moved perchance, as a natural inſtrument at firſt, and diſcerned not, what would be the end; yet ſurely at laſt he was a voluntary and morall inſtrument in Gods hand; and by a loyall heart, prudent head, and ſtout hand deſigned and effected what was ſo happily brought about.

He

He had expounded himſelfe, ſome little time before this, to that very prudent young Gentleman, Sir John Greenville, who was introduced to him by a ſafe hand, Sir William Morris, and who was received upon the great good affection, the Generall bore unto his family; and it was a grateful one; for the Generall had bin bred up a young Soldier under Sir Richard Greenville, who was an old experienced Soldier, tho' his nature was tempered with great ſeverity, if not cruelty. But the Father of this Gentleman, tho' not bred a Soldier, yet was ſo naturally adapted to it, and was ſo full of humanity, as well as cleer courage, that having been well acquainted with him, as a Member in the long Parliament, I was heartily ſorry, when, tho' ſo honourably and victoriouſly, he fell at the rencounter at Landſdown: and he left this noble Gentleman, now Earl of Bath, and his younger Brother, Bernard, heirs of his loyalty and courage. By this Gentleman then the Generall had received a letter from the King, to which he made a dutiful and wiſe reply, but wrote not back. However by the Generalls advice the King removes immediately out of the Spaniſh quarters, and goes to Breda. All this I thus early bring in, that it may be diſcerned, how his Majeſties affaires in

Monks conference with Sir John Greenville.

ſo

ſo ſhort a time afterwards ſo ſoon ripened; and how wiſely the Generall and his Miniſters managed the ſame: and with what prudence and authority they quieted the ſoldiery, who of all parties were taking care for their own arrears and pay. About this time Lambert, who was a Priſoner in the Tower, makes an eſcape from thence; hoping to be the head of the diſcontented party in the army and nation. But the Generall hearing, that he was gone towards the North, ſent forces ſo early to oppoſe him in divers places, and committing a chief care of that affair to Colonell Ingoldsby (a Gentleman of a good family, and a very daring and expert Officer, and one grown ſenſible, how he was deceived, when he was unhappily drawn in, whilſt he was a very young man, by Cromwell, who was his kinſman, to command a regiment in his army, and who now ſought ſome occaſion to ſignalize his loyalty, which he was prepared and ready to have done in Sir George Booths riſing) this Gentleman with Colonel Streater having preciſely heard, where Lambert was about Daventry, ſo briskly engaged him, (and both Lambert and his men were perceived ſo ſoon to be faint and irreſolute) that the two parties coming to grapple for it, ſome of Lamberts men ſoon came over

Lambert eſcapes out of the Tower, and heads a diſcontented party.

Defeated by Ingoldsby.

over to Ingoldsby, and others gave the ſign of their ſubmiſſion, by holding down the noſes of their piſtolls. Major Creed, who was with Lambert, endeavoured to procure from Ingoldsby a permiſſion, that Lambert might eſcape: but being refuſed that, Lambert by flight endeavoured to make the ſame; but Ingoldsby by a ſwift horſe ſoon ſtopt him, and ſingly charg'd him, and then he as meanly ſurrendred himſelf his priſoner. There were but few men ſlain, but many taken priſoners; and it was all the blood, that was ſpilt throughout this great action of bringing home the King. This ſmall rencounter was a very important action; for here was Colonell Okey, and Axtell, and Cobbet, and Creed, and divers other ſtout Commanders, who were as reſolute men, as any were in the old Army: and if they had had time given them for all the diſcontented perſons to have come in, and had had one day of good ſucceſs, the reduction of them might have bin as difficult a buſineſs, as by God's bleſſing it was an eaſy one.

New Parliament.

The Old Parliament having diſſolved themſelves, and a New called to meet on the 25th of April 1660. Sir Harbottle Grimſton being choſen Speaker

of the Houſe of Commons, and the Earl of Manchester Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, the King adjuſted his buſineſs ſo well, that in this nick of time, he had ſent over again Sir John Greenville with a commiſſion to Monk to be Captain-Generall of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and he likewiſe brought letters to both Houſes of Parliament, the City of London, and the Navy: and the Generalls letter was to be communicated to the Officers of the army, and the Council of State. The letter to the Houſes had a Declaration encloſed in it, and ſo had that to the Commons. It promiſed an act of Oblivion and generall Pardon; in point of religion, ſuch a liberty to tender conſciences, who diſturbed not the peace of the kingdom, as ſhould be agreed on by Parliament: it promiſed payment of all arrears to the ſoldiery. And his Majeſties letters had ſo good an influence on both the Houſes, (tho' it begun in the Lords Houſe) that they forthwith declare, that by the antient and fundamental laws of the kingdom the government ought to be adminiſtred by the King with the Lords and Commons; and thus his Majeſties title is acknowledged,

The Kings letters to the Parliament, &c.

The Parliaments recognition of the Kings title.

ed, and then the two Speakers and Members of both Houſes (tho' it was declared, that there was no neceſſity thereof, the title not depending thereon) attend upon the ceremony, with the Heralds, who are appointed to make Proclamation, both at Weſtminſter-Hall, Whitehall, Temple-Barr, and the old Exchange &c. of his Majeſties right of ſucceſſion: and 50000 *l.* is ordered to be ſent to the King for the expenſes of his Majeſties return, and 10000 *l.* for his Royall Highnes, the Duke of York, and 5000 *l.* for the Duke of Gloceſter; and anſwers are made to his Majeſties letters, and ſelect Commiſſioners from both Houſes are ſent to his Majeſty with the votes of Recognition: as likewiſe others from the City, with a preſent of 10000 *l.* to his Majeſty, 1000 *l.* to the Duke of York, and another to the Duke of Gloceſter; and the Journals are ſearch't, and thoſe Acts and Orders razed out, which were inconſiſtent with the Kingly government. Theſe Commiſſioners find his Majeſty at the Hague; and the Engliſh navy, under Admirall Mountague, attending on that coaſt, to waft him over, and with inſtructions to obſerve all his Majeſties commands. The Duke of York is declared by the

King Lord High-Admirall of England; and Mountague his Vice-Admirall.

The King leaves Holland: and

About the 23th of May the King takes ſhipping, paying all due reſpects to his Aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, to his Siſter, the Princeſs Royall of Orange, (that family during his whole time of affliction having highly obliged him) and to the States of Holland, who had very magnificently treated and preſented him; and the weather being very ſtormy, it was two days, before his Majeſty made Dover road; at which town he landed; but he made little or no ſtay there, becauſe the town was not capable to receive the great train of Nobility, Gentry, and others, who were come to the ſhore to receive him: yet the Magiſtrates attended him, and the Miniſter preſented him with a large Bible with gold claſps. That night he lay at Canterbury, where the Recorder made him an eloquent ſpeech; and the Mayor preſented him with a tankard of maſſy gold. The Generall received the order of Knighthood, and afterwards of the Garter: the Earle of Southampton was ſworn Privy-Councellor and Mr. Morris knighted, and declared Secretary of State. Whoever could have painted joy beſt, might have ſeen it here at its hight in every

lands at Dover.

every mans complexion: for from Dover to London I ſaw not a diſcontented face; and I believe the greateſt crowds of people, with the greateſt cheerfullnes upon all the road, and in all places, where his Majeſty made never ſo ſhort a ſtay, were to be obſerved, and as great joyes and triumphs, as ever were in this nation. His paſſage thro' *London* to Whitehall was very ſolemn and magnificent; and all the ſtreets and windows were made partakers of the bravery; and the Lord Mayor and the ſeveral Companies in great order and rich accoutrements attend him. He entred the City on his birth-day, the 29th of May; ſo as it was a regeneration; and becauſe his Chappell was out of order, he made his Preſence-Chamber his Oratory, wherein to pay his devotions that night to God. And thus the good Angel of God brought him honourably and peaceably home, and ſet him upon his Fathers throne, where may the ſame God long preſerve him. Amen.

His happy and glorious returne to his Palace at Whitehall.

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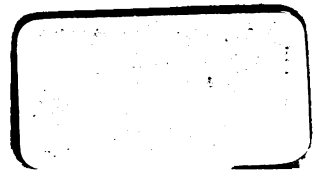
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